2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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128 extent of above two thousand genuine Tonga words.

122 As it will, no doubt, be satisfactory to
128 the reader to know how the rules and
104 idioms of this heretofore unwritten language have been investigated, it is proper to state that Mr. Mariner carefully selected out of an English dictionary all those words to which he could find appropriate Tonga words, or well adapted phrases; and having myself assiduously attended to the elementary sounds of the language, and determined upon a plan of orthography, I undertook the charge of arranging all the Tonga words alphabetically, by which means my ear and eye became accustomed to them, and several were stored up in my memory. In the mean while Mr. Mariner wrote down several dialogues and popular tales in the Tonga language; and I afterwards exercised myself, with his assistance, and that of the vocabulary, in making literal translations to them, and thus became acquainted, more or less, with the idiom; and, at the same time, I had the opportunity of furnishing the Tonga

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part of the vocabulary, from the dialogues 122
and tales, with other words. In the next 128
place, having written down sundry exam- 104
ples in English, illustrative of every part [197]
of speech, in a variety of forms, and upon a variety of subjects, I gave them to Mr. Mariner to translate into Tonga, according to the strict idiom of that language: by this method we began to perceive what could be translated, and what could not; we discovered where the Tonga language was poor in expression, and where it was more richly endowed; what were the fundamental principles of construction, and what the particular idioms and exceptions to the general rules:—and thus proceeding, step by step, the character and genius of the language were unfolded; and, at length, we arrived at that degree of theoretical knowledge of the structure of it which is now, for the first time, presented to the public.

Every attempt to afford accurate inform- 000
ation respecting the manners, customs, and sentiments of any portion of the human species, cannot but be considered, in

000 these enlightened days, at least a laudable undertaking; but to bestow much time and pains upon an investigation of the principles of a barbarous language, like the one in question, will, no doubt, in the eyes of many persons, appear more curious than useful; and how far such a view of the subject may be correct, every reader will judge for himself; to me it appears almost as great a deficiency in the history of a nation to overlook the structure of its language, as to neglect any portion of its
122 moral or political character. In taking,
114 for example, the Tonga people, Mr. Mariner
121 could only arrive at a thorough knowledge of their religious, political, and moral character, and the spirit of their religious and political sentiments, through the medium of their language, for all accounts that had been given of them were little better than bare descriptions of outside appearances, every thing else, for want of this same medium, being founded in mere conjecture: so it is easy for a traveller to give an accurate description of the outside of a building, to which he has no admit-

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tance, and make some rude guess as to its 122
interior form; but the object of the pre- 114
sent work is chiefly to describe the inside 121
of this structure, that the reader may see the form, dimensions, ornaments, and general merit of its various passages and apartments, to which the Tonga language is in this instance the master-key, and is here offered to all whom accident or design may lead to the same spot, that they may make the same researches in much less time, and with much less hazard and difficulty, than it originally cost the first investigator: and it certainly must be considered some proof of the uprightness of Mr. Mariner's intentions, and of his consciousness of the accuracy of his details, that he readily consents to put into the hands of others the easiest method in his power of satisfying themselves of the truth of what is told them.

There are other points of view, in which, 121
I think, the importance of this subject may be seen: a knowledge of the language helps to throw a considerable light in the path of those who choose to investi-

clean beach sand. The only interesting material found at this site was pottery (p.). There is no evidence of European contact. 172

Burial Places

1. At langi Tamatou (p. 55), a fortunate and unexpected opportunity affording itself, it was decided to excavate this structure, hoping thereby to determine the nature of the stone vault, to obtain specimens of primitive artifacts, to acquire data on burial methods, and to substantiate or confound the truth of the tradition that a wooden image constituted the only burial therein. 172 121

The opportunity for investigation was limited in scope of time to a single day. Consequently, the maximum available force of men, under the direct orders of a high Tongan chieftain, was set to work. The consent of these men to participate in such labor was only obtained through chiefly command. 172 114 [122]

In an endeavor to locate a vault, or burial deposit, holes 4 to 5 feet deep were sunk at intervals of 6 feet into the top of the mound. A large pocket of fine, light-colored sand, such as invariably surrounds native burials, was encountered near the center of the examined area. This pocket was extensively and carefully excavated but produced nothing. Further excavation produced equally negative results. 172 121

It is remarkable that such an extensive and well built stone structure, designed to be used as a king's cemetery, should lack a stone vault. According to tradition, all such structures are so equipped, and many of them are known to contain vaults. It is equally certain that Tamatou has no vault. 172 764

This tomb belongs to the small series of stone tombs preceding the great stone langis which occur so numerously in ancient Lapaha (p. 96). There is reason to believe that it is among the first stone langis to be built in Tonga and the absence of a vault tends to question the ancient existence of stone vaults in Tonga. Investigation on a scale and of a nature that present native standards will not tolerate would be required to furnish an intelligent answer to this question. [128]

My stubborn presumption in calling this structure a tomb, in spite of the negative evidence, seems justified by the extensive mythological reference to the place. Tradition states that no man was buried there and excavation supported this statement. A failure to locate the wooden doll said to have been buried there was to have been expected. The figure is said by some to have been made of the soft wood of the fau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), a material that would disintegrate and be lost in the surrounding soil in a relatively short length of time. 172 764 173

2. At langi Folokamanu. 172

There is reason to believe that Folokamanu is one of the oldest langis in Tonga (p. 69). A daughter of one of the early kings is said to have been buried here. 764

2. **Fetuu-aho:** Day star, or morning star. This is frequently applied to Venus in her early morning appearances, but the name seems equally applicable to any bright star whose rising closely precedes the dawn (compare Samoan *Fetuao*, the morning star). 821

3. **Fetuu fuka:** Flag or flagged star, a comet.

4. **Fetuu ejlafi:** Fire-bringing star, shooting star.

5. **Uha:** Rain. Belongs to great deities, the Tangaloa, who reside in the sky. This is the reason why prayers for rain were made to the goddess Tafakula, a descendant of the Tangaloa, who passed human supplications on to headquarters. [782] [776]

6. **Umata:** Rainbow. The rainbow belongs to a deity. It is tabu to point to the rainbow, and should one disregard this prohibition the limb with which he points will swell with elephantiasis or perhaps as with elephantiasis. [776] [784] [753]

7. **Mofuike:** Earthquake—is caused by Maui digging too energetically in his garden in the Underworld. Another account, which is much more doubtful, relates that Maui, getting drowsy, lets the earth totter. Whatever the cause the remedy is simple: make a great noise and beat on the ground to recall the god to a sense of his misdemeanor. 823 776

8. **Ahiohio:** Whirlwind. A blind god, who rushes about not knowing whither he is going nor what damage he is doing. A small whirlwind is a small god and a large whirlwind a great deity. In dealing with this blind god the right procedure is to induce him to go elsewhere by making a noise so that he may know that he is interfering with men. 821 776

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. E. W. Gifford of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, Bishop Museum, who has made available information collected in 1920-1921, including interesting notes written by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker of Haapai; to my wife, whose interest in Tongan lore places me under constant obligation; to Prince Tungi, the Consort of Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga; and to my friends and colleagues of the Methodist Mission, Rev. J. Havea, Rev. D. Malupo, and Rev. A. Tamale. 122

12: Vason
122

OU9 Tonga OU9

[For data on the voyages of Vason to and from Tonga, see Category 116, pp. 20-67 and 202-225.]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

have attempted an intercourse with the natives, but 000 the Captain, unwilling to lose a whole night, in waiting for the day, stood forward in his course for the Friendly Islands. As we passed along the glimmering shores, the Island seemed to extend to the distance of fifteen or eighteen miles.

In about five days, we discovered one of the 122 Friendly Islands, named by the Dutch, who disco- 175 vered it, Middleburg, but known to the inhabitants by the name of Eooa. We kept Eooa on our larboard side, or left hand, in order to fall down on Tongataboo, which, we knew, lay to the right.

The mountains of Eooa, which we discerned, were at a considerable distance; so that we ran the whole day, before we reached the confines of the Friendly Islands; and finding we were not likely to make the harbour till it was dark, we stood off, till day-light. The wind blew briskly as the morning dawned, and the Captain crowded sail to take advantage of it, in order, if possible, to steer down the channel, by day-light, into the bay of Tongataboo. This name is properly two words, Tonga-Taboo, [103] signifying Sacred Island, the reason of which will [243] appear, when we come to shew, that the Priest of this Island, Duatonga, was reverenced and resorted to by all the surrounding Islands.

As we were entering the channel, a canoe ap- [609] proached us with two persons in it, natives of Eooa, we supposed, through desire of European articles;

122 but Tongataboo being our object, we stood down
175 the channel in full sail, without attending to them.
609 About ten, the vessel passed an Island, and as it
drew nearer Tongataboo, we discerned the natives
122 flocking down to the beach. The channel was
175 deep and commodious: it narrowed as we advanc-
ed up it, and at length, terminated in a small wind-
[133] ing turn, round a point of land, which we doubled
with difficulty.

[609] From a small Island that lay near, we were cheered by the natives. In a quarter of an hour, the ship was through the channel, and in an hour after, dropped down into a convenient place for anchorage.

[609] Before we could well come to an anchor, the ship was surrounded by the natives, who flocked to us from every adjacent Island. The place, before which we anchored, was called Noogollefa: it was near an Island, named Bonghy-moddoo; on which former navigators pitched their tents, as a convenient spot, on account of its separation from the main Island, to preserve themselves from being two much incommoded by the natives.

122 We had not been long at anchor, before we were
175 pleasingly surprised by a visit from two Europeans,
563 named Benjamin Ambler, and John Conelly. The
former said, he was a native of London, the latter, an Irishman, said, he was born at Cork. They stated, that they left an American vessel, that came here, preferring to take up their abode at Tongataboo. But

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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we soon found that we had greater reason to regret 122
their presence here, than to rejoice at it. They soon 175
shewed themselves to be base and wicked cha- 563
racters; and whatever they pretended, as the occasion of settling here, it is most likely that they were transported for some misdemeanor, and gladly secreted themselves in this Island, where they could indulge, without restraint, in those habits of idleness and profligacy, to which they had been addicted. Bad as they were, however, we thought it prudent to engage their influence with the chiefs in our favour, and applied to them, especially to Ambler (who was the most fluent in the language), to inform the Chief of the Island, that we were come on a peaceful and benevolent design.

Engaged by handsome presents, Ambler and his companion went to the Chief, and impressed him with a favourable opinion of us; and returned in the course of the next day, with an invitation to us to enter the Island, and a promise of a settlement in it. They came, in a large canoe, with many natives of 175
both sexes. The dress and carriage of the two Eu- 563
ropeans, were like theirs; they seemed to imitate them in every thing, and much to exceed them in wickedness. Thinking we were as bad as themselves, they swore with the fluency of abandoned seamen, and probably to give us an idea of the impure freedoms, in which they indulged without control, in Tongataboo, they treated the women with

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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175 agreeable to the choice they had made before our
122 arrival at Otaheite. After steering round the reef,
he waited for us to come off, to inform him still further,
of the treatment we met with. But at this
time there came on a tremendous gale, which did
not allow us to venture to the ship, and obliged the
Captain to push off from the shores; whence, the
mountainous billows soon tossed the vessel along
the ocean, till we lost sight of her. We watched
her labouring amid the waves, till she sank in the
175 horizon, from our view. A sigh of sadness then
122 arose, and some tears of regret fell from our eyes,
797 whilst we looked round upon this Island, far distant
from the regions of civilized life, as the scene where
we should pass, and end our days. "This," we said,
to each other, "is the ground where our bodies will
moulder to dust. This we must now look upon as
our country, and our grave." But there were ten of
us in company, all social and friendly, all attached
to each other, all of similar sentiment, all at this
time, united in love and zeal for our divine Master,
and all glowing with an earnest desire to convey
the blessing of his inestimable and glorious gospel
to the friendly, but heathen inhabitants around us.

175 Our painful sensations were soon allayed with
797 these considerations, and we turned to our habitation,
endeavouring to address our minds to the
grand concern on which we came; cheered with
the hope that when the ship visited us, in its return

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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tempted to attack us. Their voices also were constantly 175
heard near us. But through awe of their
chiefs, and fear of our firearms, of which they had 797
some knowledge, they were restrained from robbing
us. We guarded our little baggage, till the
last of the goods were removed; and then accompanied
the porters a mile and a half, to the appointed
settlement, which the two Europeans had obtained
for us. It was a comfortable dwelling, in a [342]
little field, inclosed with reeds neatly interwoven,
and fastened to green stakes driven into the ground,
which had shot forth suckers and branches, that
now were entwined into a verdant fence.

By the sixth day, after the ship had come to an 175
anchor, we had conveyed on shore, the principal 122
part of the articles which were then needed, and
had met with such a favourable reception from the
natives, that already there appeared to us a good
prospect of prosperity and peace. The Captain, in
the mean time, received and paid visits to the chiefs,
carried on a friendly intercourse with the natives,
and obtained every requisite confirmation of their
friendly dispositions towards us. Finding, therefore,
he had little time to spare, as he was bound to
China, from whence he was authorised, by the
East-India Company, to bring back a cargo of teas,
in company with the fleet, he weighed anchor for
the Marquesas; whither William Crook and John
Harris still retained their determination to proceed,

175 797 [122] of Him, that they might love and fear him, and attain to his region of happiness. But we found it impossible to interest them in such a manner, as to produce any good effect, till we became familiar in the native tongue.

[609] Whilst making these necessary preparations for their future instruction, we met with the great obstacle of personal danger. Unprotected by the arm of power, in a country where there was no civilization to allay, nor law to restrain the ferment of sudden prejudice; we were obliged to separate for our safety, and to become dependents in the families of different chiefs; where, disjoined from the rest, we could with little success attempt to be general instructors.

000 Here therefore another suggestion may, possibly, be of use to every institution for evangelizing the heathen. Send them to countries where law represses violence, and secures men's persons and property from other dangers, except "persecution for righteousness sake." No authentic record remains that even the Apostles went into a situation like that of these islands. They might indeed go where there were no restraints of law; but we no where read of it. They were in no peculiar danger but from persecutors; we read indeed that St. Paul was "in perils of robbers," but to suffer from depredators, and to need "carnal" defence from them, is peculiar to these missions.

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

PREFACE

THIS monograph is the result of a two-month visit to Tonga 114
during the summer of 1938-39. Some seven weeks of this 101
time were spent in the village of Pangai, Vava'u. We lived 122
in a Tongan-style house built for us in the middle of the 114
village. One of us could speak Tongan with fair fluency.

We do not claim any measure of completeness for our 121
study. It is quite obvious that in the time at our disposal, completeness was unattainable. But we do feel that our observations on various aspects of village culture have as much objectivity as is usually claimed by students of society. We also feel that it is worth putting on record something of the life of the villager-commoner in a socially stratified society. Previous description of this society has not always [114]
made it clear whether the reference of social custom or fact is to the society as a whole or to the life of a chiefly class only.

It should be emphasized further that what we describe 121
refers specifically to the culture of this village as it is 177
believed and lived today. We have not tried to winnow the chaff of post-European borrowing in order exclusively to present the wheat of a now far distant aboriginal culture. This would be difficult to do and hardly worth the trouble insofar as Mariner and Gifford, separated by more than a century of time, have already given us studies of this pre-European culture that are models of their kind. With these or similar studies as a sort of base line, the need today in Tonga, as indeed in many another Polynesian community, is for extended analyses of present-day culture in action. Only by these analyses and the comparisons they make possible will the student gain insight into many of the problems of culture-contact and resulting culture-change. Since we have at this time opportunity for culture-descrip- 121
tion only, we have left aside for the moment and for the 177
most part any extended study of the process of historical 178
change as it has affected Tongan culture. For the students

121 much fullness as our field notes make possible. Only by empirical field studies will the student be able to gather the data without which hypotheses are mere speculation and speculation itself takes the place of a rigorous scientific thinking.

122 We are indebted to various friends for helping us with our work: to the Prince Consort Tungi for giving us permission to live in a Tongan village and introducing us to government officials in Neiafu; to John Feiloakitau, Police Magistrate in Neiafu, for advice and assistance; to Dr. and Mrs. John Lopdell who took us as strangers into their home in Neiafu and gave us the privilege of their friendship and hospitality; to our friends and informants in Pangai village who welcomed us and helped us and let us
128 live among them. Special thanks are due to Biukala of Pangai for preparing for us the first draft of the two sketch maps of Pangai village and of the island of Pangaimotu. Miss Lovella Proctor prepared these maps for publication; we are grateful to her for this help.

The material embodied in these notes is the result of co-operative work. The monograph was written by Ernest Beaglehole.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

361 Beyond these stands the *Bou valu*, a large open
[344] building devoted to the reception of strangers, and
to the transaction of all public business. Around
[351] this place there is a *malae*, or grassy sward, of
several acres in extent, fringed by cocoa-nut and
[764] cedar trees; the prospect being bounded on the
right by the hill of Neiafu, at the foot of which lies
a burial-ground, where the remains of two missionaries
have been interred, near the tombs of the
leading native families.

361 Proceeding a little further inland, the Chapel is
reached. That which stood there in 1846, measured
368 one hundred feet by forty-five. Turning
797 from thence to the left by a road leading towards
[491] Talau, the Mission premises were soon reached.
These consisted, at the time specified, of a large
printing-office, containing three presses with all
their necessary appurtenances; and beyond that
building lay the dwellings required for three Mission
families. These were erected upon separate
[417] *abis*, or allotments of gardening land, the whole
being surrounded by a neat native fence, with a
[245] magnificent row of large orange-trees lining the
entire frontage to the road.

797 After the bustle of landing our stores was over,
the active duties of Mission life immediately commenced.
Among these, the acquirement of the
797 language was felt to be the thing of greatest importance.
122 We had not been idle in this matter
since reaching the islands: but still, in the prevailing
religious excitement, and the consequent
increase of labour devolving upon our senior colleague,
Mr. Turner, we saw abundant reason for
prosecuting its study with unsparing diligence.
[123] We longed to take an active part in the religious

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797
123
122

instruction of the people in their own tongue. To this end we resolved to acquire it entirely from the natives. And being convinced that mingling a great deal with the native children, would be the speediest way of obtaining a knowledge of the simple and ordinary modes of expression, with a clear pronunciation, I accordingly went very much amongst them. At the same time, I gladly embraced the kind aid offered by Kalisitiane Tutoe, the chief judge of Vavau, who devoted two hours every day to my instruction in the language. The result was, that by the end of three weeks, I had composed a short sermon in Tonguese, and on the following Lord's-day conducted the service, with the exception of the extempore prayers, at a village called Makave. On the way thither I was accompanied by a few of our best Christian teachers. Among these were Jone Fifita, and Jone Faubula. When about a quarter of a mile from the village of Makave, Fifita stayed our further progress by asking whether we might not pause and pray that God would assist His Missionary servant, and also bless the word about to be delivered. The proposal was no sooner made than acted upon. We immediately knelt down by the roadside under the shade of the overhanging trees, while Fifita poured forth a beautiful and powerful prayer. He prayed that the Lord would "soften His servant's mouth,"—meaning that He would enable him to speak with ease and correctness; and also that He would open the hearts of the people to receive the truth spoken. After such a preparation, it seems hardly necessary to say that the service was a time of blessing, as well as of mental excitement and trial. It was a truly small, and no doubt a feeble beginning; but

797 from that Sabbath-day, and during nine years afterwards,
123 the writer never failed to preach to the Tonguese
122 the "unsearchable riches of Christ" in their
own tongue, with the exception of two or three
occasions when laid aside by sickness. Our first
extempore attempt was made at Leimatua, at the
watch-night service at the close of the same year;
and we never had occasion after that time to *read*
any of our discourses to the natives. We do not
mention these things by way of boasting, but as an
encouragement to all young Missionaries, who may
be tempted to be disheartened while learning a
foreign tongue. Our advice would be to all such,
to learn from the natives and not from Europeans,
and to begin by speaking with and amongst the children,
while careful at the same time to secure the
aid of some native of known ability to guide and
correct their studies.

157 Jone Fifita was a man of no ordinary character
and ability. As a public speaker, he was possessed
159 of many of the gifts and graces of a polished, but
yet natural orator. His religious character likewise
was bright and consistent in the highest degree. In
[142] person he was considered much below the Tonguese
standard of height and physical development.
Nevertheless, he had been noted, in heathen times,
as a great champion in all pugilistic and gymnastic
feats. He was also an oracle in traditional lore,
and in his knowledge of the *mekes* and *ulas*, or
songs and dances of the country. After his conversion,
157 his natural powers were sacredly devoted to
159 the cause of Christ. He loved the society of the
797 Missionaries, and he profited more than most of his
companions under their instructions. He soon acquired
large and correct views of Scripture truth;

[Niua Tobutabu]

797 had to be examined, and all cases requiring discipline gone into and dealt with. After this, preaching services must be held, and several of the schools be examined. As might be expected, a large number of marriages and baptisms had also to be performed. Such likewise is the close relationship between religious, political, and judicial affairs, in a community so small and primitive in its habits, that the visiting Missionary is compelled to "intermeddle with all wisdom." He must listen to queries and appeals from both chiefs and commoners, and, to the best of his ability, he is expected to express his opinion and decisions thereupon.

In many of these occupations Mr. Davis and myself were kept busy from one P.M. until nearly midnight, with only one short interval for refreshment. Thoroughly tired, we then retired from the chapel to our appointed habitation; but here, again, we found a large number of teachers anxiously waiting our coming, that they might have passages of Scripture explained, and be supplied with outlines of sermons to carry them on through their preaching duties, for another twelve months, at the least. All [136] this, too, was done in the midst of clouds of musquitoes, for which the island is very famous. We were literally worried in body and mind, and longed for a little repose. Being at length positively un- 797 able to answer any more questions, or meet any 122 further demands, we retired to the little sleeping 136 room, where our musquito curtains had been very carefully adjusted, and where we expected to obtain renewed strength for the further duties of the morrow. We were miserably disappointed. We had not been long laid down, when our insatiable persecutors found an entrance somewhere through the curtains.

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[Niua Tobutabu]

We then lighted a lamp, and tried to beat them out. The attempt, however, failed; more came in than those we destroyed or swept away. Finding it useless to remain there, the natives advised a removal into the centre of the large chapel, where they thought we should be comparatively safe, owing to the free circulation of air through the building. We tried this also, but in vain. The musquitoes were in such numbers, we were driven forth to walk about till daylight. Fairly overcome by sleep, Mr. Davis sought a nestling-place under a thicket, whilst I, equally needy of repose, climbed into a tree. But all was in vain; and we finally walked about until the dawn of day brought a little relief. 797 122 136

When daylight came, Mr. Davis was found to be in a dreadful state. His face and hands were swollen to double their usual size. He presented the exact picture of a man who had been severely handled in a pugilistic encounter; and although we pitied him, we could not resist the temptation to have a good laugh at his expense. Although the venom of the insect had not produced the same effects upon my person, yet I was thrown into a state of high irritation and feverishness. A more miserable night we could not have spent after a day of so much excitement and hard work.

It will be supposed that we were but ill prepared for the many duties of the new day; but these had nevertheless to be done. The same round of occupations filled up our time, as on the previous day, until about three o'clock, P.M., when we prepared to embark. We had done our best to adjust the heterogeneous jumble of church and state affairs that had been brought before us. To have done so 797

24: Rugby-Pratt M-3 (1922) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau

A *KAVA* CEREMONY IN TONGA.

By the Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt.

114 [The writings of W. H. R. Rivers and others have raised the *kava* complex to a position of theoretical importance in the study of Polynesian ethnology. The following very detailed account of the ceremonial preparation of *kava* in the
276 Tongan Group is, therefore, of great interest. Such a ceremonial as is here recorded is now rare in those islands, and many members of modern *kava* parties
574 scarcely know the right positions to take up, much less the details of the
[178] ceremonial.—Editor.]

THE ceremonial way of making *kava* is called *milolua*, a word that is also employed to describe one method of straining, or
122 "clearing" the *kava*. The fact that on two occasions the full ceremony was carried through for my benefit was due to the circum-
123 stance that I was the guest of the Rev. J. B. Watkin, who, for fifty-six years has laboured as a missionary in the Friendly Islands, and won the fullest confidence and love of the Tongan people.

123 On the morning of Thursday, August 17th, 1922, accompanied by
[114] my host and the Native minister from Neiafu, the Rev. Paula Fonua, I set out from Neiafu, the capital of Vavau, for the village of Haalaufuli, some eight miles distant. Some two miles before reaching Haalaufuli we were met by a small cavalcade, and the horsemen escorted us to the village. Here we were received at the Mission House, and, having seated ourselves on the *lotoa*, or verandah, a dried *kava* root was laid at our feet, and a small offering of food was presented to us for some visitors who had followed us from Neiafu. This over, Mr. Watkin and I stepped into the Mission House and sat at a table laden with roast chicken, boiled chicken, curried chicken, fried chicken, roast sucking pig, and a profusion of fruit, vegetables and other good things. The only detail that I need mention is that we began the meal with a drink of hot coconut milk, that was served in cups made from folded banana leaf, a beverage that is heated in the *umu*, or oven of hot stones, and which, when poured into the green banana-leaf cup extracts from the cup some essential properties which produce a delightfully cool sensation in mouth and throat.

The meal over, we again repaired to the *lotoa* to be garlanded with exquisitely made floral *sisi*, to hear words of welcome, to hold a levee and to receive the customary gifts. There were two presentations. The first was a *koloa*, or presentation of goods, which included native mats, *tapa* cloth, coconut oil, necklaces made of *hano*, *lopa* and

[p. 198]

24: Rugby-Pratt M-3 (1922) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau

276 exhausted. The *gaahi kava* wiped the bowl clean with her bunch of
574 *fau* and again brought her arms to rest on either side edge of the
bowl. A member of the party now advanced, lifted the bowl, and
holding its inner surface towards the guests of honour, slapped it on
[123] its under side and bore it from the scene. The whole *kava* ceremony
thus described in detail, occupied less than forty minutes, and was
followed by a dinner from the food that had ceremonially been
presented to me.

533 After the dinner the whole company marched in procession to the
beautiful Free Church building. Here some seven choirs, drawn from
the five villages of Haalaufuli, Hologa, Houma, Taanea and Mugia
united in a *hiva*, or song service. Fourteen anthems were rendered,
two by each choir. The singing was a revelation, and was without any
instrumental accompaniment, and without the aid of the printed score,
or any printed word. Most of the selections were by native composers,
and these showed considerable merit. Two selections, however, were
quite familiar. They were the "Hallelujah Chorus" from Handel's
"Messiah," and "Glorious is Thy Name."

622 One of the chiefs present at these celebrations was a Native doctor,
Mr. George Kubu, who is uncle of Queen Salote, and a brother of the
123 late Queen Lavinia, of Tonga. Two days later I visited his village
122 of Hologa, and he, having noted my interest in the *milolua*, or *kava*
ceremony, had arranged for its repetition in my honour. At this
276 second ceremony, which was preceded by the singing of an ode of
574 welcome, that had been originally composed and sung to welcome to
533 Hologa, the late King George Tubou II. several years ago, the whole
party was seated under a *balebule nofoaga*, or shelter, that had been
276 temporarily erected on the *malae*. The ceremony was the introduction
574 to a feast, and it differed from the previous *milolua* in the fact that the
kava maker was a man, and the cup-bearers were women. On
[123] numerous occasions I saw *kava* made with as little ceremony and as
much haste as possible, and count myself favoured to have witnessed
a ceremony that few are now privileged to see.

26 Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9 •
Samoa OU8

the round lace-caps worn at one time by old ladies of T. 532
European stock. If the missionaries' wives wore such
caps,* the model for the head-gear of the goddess is found. 171
Someone in central Polynesia, possessed of some Tongan
material and a sense of humour, simply tacked a piece of
the Tongan circular textile on to the head of a rejected
Aitutaki image. The neck- and waist-additions followed
as a matter of course, and so a puzzling composite object
was produced.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. T

This paper forms an introduction to the study of the 121
numerous inanimate representatives of the Polynesian gods 127
which escaped destruction and found refuge in various T
museums. Of these sanctuaries, the British Museum houses 127
an enviable number. I have to thank Captain T. A. Joyce
and his staff in the Ethnographical Department of the
British Museum for facilitating in every possible way my
examination of the rich material in that wonderful but
woefully overcrowded institution. My thanks are also due
to Captain A. W. F. Fuller and Mr. Oldman for access
to their private collections and for drawing my attention T
to the Tongan images. The line drawings in this paper 128
were prepared from photographs taken with a Leica camera
by myself and thrown on to the drawing paper with a 126
Leica enlarger. The enlarging apparatus and the employ- T
ment of Mr. R. W. Foster of Yale University to make 128
the drawings are due to the courtesy of the American 122 ●
Research Council in awarding me a Grant-in-Aid for the
study of the material culture of central Polynesia.

CONCLUSIONS. T

Wooden images, though not common in western Poly- S
nesia, were made at Haapai in the Tongan group and the 532
solitary specimen from Samoa was probably due to Tongan 171

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*In the early years of the eighteen hundreds, say the 'twenties
and 'thirties, the caps worn covered the head, and the sides were
continued in broad bands more or less long coming from behind the T
ears over the shoulders and down the breasts. See portraits of [113]
missionaries' wives in W. Morley, *History of Methodism in New
Zealand;* Mrs. W. White, p. 43; Mrs. N. Turner, p. 43; Mrs. J. Hobbs,
p. 52; Mrs. C. Creed, p. 75; Mrs. T. Buddle, p. 76. In the 'seventies
and 'eighties some caps at any rate were quite small things sitting
on the top of the head only, and with no pendent ornaments.—ED.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

I should now like to add an expression of my deepest gratitude to all 122
who have assisted in the work of which these papers are the result. The project was financed by a grant from the Carnegie Social Science Research Committee of the University of New Zealand, without whose assistance the study could not have been made at all. Professor W. R. Geddes made valuable suggestions in regard to the initial definition of the problem, and as he went away on leave before I left Auckland, the task of direction fell on the shoulders of Professor R. Piddington. In the field I was assisted in a great many ways by people who cannot all be mentioned, but in particular I would wish to add the following to those already mentioned: the Hon. Tu'i Pelehake, Minister of Lands in Tonga, and the members of the Lands Department there; the Chairman of the Copra Board in Tonga; the Hon. G. R. Powles, High Commissioner for Western Samoa, for permission to do research in Western Samoa and for putting me in most effective touch with the officers in his Lands Department; Mr. Ian Stirling (Chief Surveyor) and other members of the Lands Department in Western Samoa; and Mr. Pulotu McCarthy—a wise old man whose family I had met in New Zealand and who provided me with quarters in Apia. In Fiji, my friend Mr. G. J. T. Hansen, Secretary to the Native Lands Trust Board, brought me up-to-date on the latest developments in native land policy there.

1—HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TONGAN LAND TENURE

The main features of the land tenure system operating in Tonga 421
today are well documented. In a moment I shall be summarising them 423
before proceeding to a consideration of how the legal plan is actually 128
applied to realities on the ground, and of the ways in which the
system is related to the organisation of social affairs in village life.
But at this point it would be well to point out that as it is set out in 171
the various legislative enactments of the Government of Tonga,[2] the 421
system is, in one major respect, well out of the ordinary run of land 423
tenure systems in Oceanic societies: this is its individualistic character.[3] Although this is decidedly unusual within the context of land tenure in Western Polynesia, it is not so extraordinary if considered in relation to the traditional form of Tongan society.

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[2] The most important are the Land Act 1927 (Chapters XXVII of *The* 113
Law of Tonga); the Land Act (Amendment) Act 1934; and the Leases (Renewal) Act (No. 15 of 1934).

[3] The distinction between "individualistic" and "communalistic" forms of tenure is not always easy to draw, but in this context I shall mean by "individualistic" that in principle one and only one individual is regarded and accepted as having sole rights to a piece of land. Rights may vary in type from absolute ownership of the soil to merely usufructuary rights; but the distinction is irrelevant, for the definition applies *given* these rights. Such an individual may, if he wishes, confer some of the benefits of these rights upon others, but this does not give them a right other than that which he has himself agreed to give. Such a system differs fundamentally from a "communalistic" one in which the rights involved are conferred upon a group of individuals *at the same time*, so that each of them has a right *equal* to that of each of the other members of the group. All powers of administration repose in the whole group, and although certain members only may appear to exercise them, they are clearly recognised to be acting for and on behalf of all members. Under such powers they can regulate priorities as to actual use of the land.

32: Staveley & Douglas D-4 (no date) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

BLOOD GROUPS IN TONGANS, (POLYNESIA)[1]

By J. M. STAVELEY and R. DOUGLAS

125 RESULTS OF TESTING 200 Tongans for various blood groups and abnormal haemoglobins are the subject of this report. A blood group study of this population has been reported by Kooptzoff and Walsh.[2] These workers tested 102 subjects for the A_1A_2BO, MNS and Rh systems. We have extended the blood group systems tested to include P, Lewis, Kell, Duffy, Kidd, Diego, Wright, Vel, Sutter and the serum Gm groups. Saliva was also examined for secretion of ABH and Le^a substances, and a search was made for abnormal haemoglobins.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES[3]

101 The kingdom of Tonga consists of about 200 islands in three major
groups, Tongatapu in the south, Vava'u in the north, and the Ha'apai
133 group lying between these. The islands of Vava'u are generally high and
mountainous, those of Ha'apai and Tongatapu low-lying and of coral
131 formation. The kingdom lies between 15° and 23° south and 173° and
177° west, and is free from malaria.

[361] Nuku'alofa, the capital, is on the main island of the southern group,
Tongatapu, and lies 1,100 miles north-east of Auckland. The population
161 of the kingdom in 1959[4] is given as 58,351, of which 56,669 are Tongans,
162 and 1,682 part Tongans, Europeans and others.

According to tradition, the inhabitants of Tonga came from Samoa
173 somewhere about 950 A.D.

COLLECTION OF SPECIMENS

125 With the approval of the Government of Tonga, Dr. Sione Tapa,
126 Chief Medical Officer, generously undertook the selection of the subjects
and the collection of the specimens. In this work, Dr. Sateki Tupou, Assistant Medical Officer, played a big part. From each selected person, a clotted blood specimen and blood in Alsever's solution with added antibiotics was obtained by venepuncture. The saliva specimen was obtained after the mouth had been rinsed with water, and was heated in a boiling water bath for ten minutes.

[101] The samples from the 200 people concerned in the study were collected in batches of 50; one batch in May 1959, two during July 1959, and one in September 1959. This allowed the collection to take place just prior to the departure of a ship for New Zealand. It also allowed the testing of each batch to be completed during the week after arrival

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[1] This work was carried out under a grant from the Auckland Medical
[122] Research Foundation.

[2] Kooptzoff & Walsh, 1957.

[3] Pacific Islands Year Book, 1956:109.

[4] Pacific Islands Year Book, 1959:111.

32: Staveley & Douglas D-4 (no date) 1959

OU9 Tonga OU9

Without the approval of the Tongan Government and the meticulous manner in which Dr. S. Tapa and his staff at Vaiola Hospital carried 122 out the collection of specimens, the study could not have been initiated, nor would the specimens have been received in Auckland in excellent order for testing, as they were. The authors acknowledge with gratitude this co-operation. Credit is also due to the ship's officers of the Union Steamship Company, who attended to the refrigeration of the specimens during transit. We are also indebted to many colleagues for gifts of sera which broadened the scope of the study enormously. Dr. A. E. Mourant provided strong anti-M and anti-N sera; Dr. R. E. Rosenfield anti-S and anti-f; Dr. Philip Levine anti-k, anti-e and anti-Fy^a; Dr. Eloise Giblett anti-s, anti-V and anti-Js^a; Dr. F. H. Allen anti-M^g, anti-Vw, anti-Kp^a, anti-Wr^a and anti-Kp^b; Dr. M. Layrisse anti-Di^a; Dr. Leon Sussman anti-Vel; Dr. Bruce Chown anti-Fy^b; Dr. R. Race anti-$P+P_1$; and Dr. T. Greenwalt anti-U.

We also gratefully acknowledge the technical assistance given by Miss Juliet Jacobs.

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33: Palmer A-4 (no date) 1963 OU9 Tonga OU9

CONCLUSION

000 Pottery from site 20, Fiji, displays certain rim forms, vessel shapes and decorative techniques that are also found in site 21, except that sherds with the *pointillé* style of fine incised decoration are lacking. It also shows that both paddle and anvil and hand-moulding techniques were in use in the manufacture of vessels. The flat-bottomed dish shape, the extensive use of outcurving flat rims, and the notched edging on the lip are paralleled in early pottery from sites in New Caledonia or the Ile des Pins on the one hand and Tonga on the other hand.[14] In view of the fact that these sand hills may be exported for their iron ore content, it might be worthwhile that more extensive surface collections and some excavations were undertaken there in the immediate future.[15]

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Eastern Polynesian-Type Adzes from Tonga

BY J. B. PALMER

412 These notes describe two gripped or tanged adzes of a rare type in west
Polynesia.[1] Few adzes from this area show a triangular cross-section with
[128] the apex to the front which, in some cases, has been reduced in width to
form a ridge, except where the bevel modifies the cross-section. Many
412 archaeologists and ethnologists, particularly in New Zealand, know this adze
171 as the hog-back, its more familiar name. Golson records the almost complete
absence of the type from the adze collections he examined in Tonga[2] so that
any localised specimen is important for present studies in the type's
distribution, not only in Tonga itself but in the whole of west Polynesia.

127 Both specimens are part of a very fine Oceanic collection in the Pigorini
Museum of Ethnology and Prehistory in Rome and the Museum's Director,
[122] Dr. P. Sestieri, has kindly allowed me to publish these notes and drawings.
The adzes were acquired from J. F. G. Umlauff of Hamburg in March 1886
by E. H. Giglioli, whose collection forms the major part of the Pigorini
Museum's Oceanic material. A feature of the Giglioli material is the detailed
information on the labels which gives provenance, tribal names where known
and references to descriptions of similar specimens in the literature.
Giglioli's labels can be considered an accurate record of Umlauff's informa-

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[1] Golson 1959:3.

[2] Golson 1957:7.

ture as of the pressures of population growth, and 000
even in a still partly traditional agricultural system population growth may thus cease to be the critical determinant of agricultural change.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research on which this article is based was 122
supported by the Australian National University.
I am indebted to Professor H.C. Brookfield and 128
Dr. D. Lea for their comments on an earlier draft of the paper, to innumerable people in Tonga for their assistance in fieldwork, and to the Fiji Department of Agriculture for the analysis of soil samples.

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[p.64-B]

government, on the one hand, and the system of stratification on the other. 114 121 For reasons set out in Chapters I and VI, these are topics that cannot be adequately dealt with in the context of a study of village Tonga. To pursue these topics, therefore, I would have had to set aside my village study and return to Nuku'alofa. This seemed to me not to be advisable, not only because I would have had to trace my own way over some of the ground covered by Langi Kavaliku just a few years previously, but also because by then my fieldwork in the village was well under way and I was most reluctant to abandon it. Thus I continued with my village research.

Something should be said regarding the selection of the village chosen as my fieldbase. There were five villages which suited the requirement of being large enough to promise a diverse population and sufficiently removed yet within easy access of Nuku'alofa. One of the 114 people with whom I discussed the question of which village 121 would be the most suitable 122 offered to help me find a place in one of them, Motulahi (a fictitious name), the village in which he lived. At first I was hesitant about accepting the offer, for he was a government official and I was concerned about possible implications of being thought to be associated with the government. However, it was necessary for me to have someone who would provide me with

sponsorship, wherever I lived, since land is not freely 114
available in Tonga. There seemed little point in avoiding 121
being associated with someone merely because he was a 122
government official, particularly since I would be associated
with the government, anyway, through my research in
education. I therefore accepted his gracious offer, but
declined the further invitation extended both by him and
his wife that I live as a member of their household.
Instead, we agreed that I would live in a *fale* (a 9 x 16 [342]
foot coconut-thatched 'house') that I would have built
for me on land at the back of their house. I would do my
own cooking in my *fale*, but had free access to their house
and use of the indoor plumbing facilities there. While
the *fale* was being built and outfitted, a matter of a few
weeks, I lived in a boarding house in Nuku'alofa and
commuted daily to Motulahi. I moved in to my *fale* in 114
mid-September and that was my base for the next eight
months, until I left Tonga. In all, I was in Tonga for [101]
ten months, from mid-July 1969 through mid-May 1970.
During this period I made two trips of a few days each in
Tongan waters and spent two weeks in Fiji. Except for [101]
these three side-trips, my research was conducted on
Tongatapu.

After I came to live in Motulahi my field methods 123
were based on participating as much as I was able in the

None of these informants were paid, nor were they directly 124 rewarded with gifts. However, my main informants and [125] others in Motulahi who were of greatest assistance were members of the kin-groups in which I participated as a quasi-member. I understood their assisting me to be part of a wider context of reciprocities, one aspect of the anga faka-Tonga that I had come to Motulahi to study.

I wish to thank the Government of Tonga under 122 His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV for permitting me to conduct fieldwork. My fieldwork was supported by an International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women, and this support is gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to thank many people in Motulahi and others in Tonga for helping me in carrying out my research, and to express special thanks to certain individuals for their graciousness and kindness towards me. However, I shall only name those who are identifiable in some public capacity. Much as I would like to name 122 others in acknowledgement of my regard for them, I feel 124 it incumbent upon me to protect their privacy. While I have given a fictitious name to the village in which I was based and have disguised the title of the noble, it would be impossible to shield their identity any further without distorting data that I have judged it important to present. Instead, I have done what I can in reporting my findings to preclude the identification of individuals, particularly where sensitive information is involved.

The directors and staff of a number of Government departments and agencies rendered invaluable assistance. The Department of Education was especially helpful at all times, and it is a pleasure to be able to express my gratitude for the support facilitated me by the Honourable Minister of Education, Dr. Langi Kavaliku, and the Director of Education, Sione Na'a Fiefia. Considerations of space preclude my naming all the members of their staff and the staff of other agencies who went out of their way to help me, but I cannot omit mention of Kilisimasi 'Aho, 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki, and 'Atolo Tu'inukuafe, and their names will stand for all. I would also like to express my appreciation to the Honourable Ve'ehala and Tupou Posesi Fonua of the Tonga Traditions Committee for their encouragement of anthropological research in Tonga. And thanks are due the staff and students of Tonga High School and Tupou High School for facilitating my research among them. Others in Tonga whom I would like to thank and whose names I feel I can safely mention include Jack and Kato Riechelmann; Tevita Tupou, who met my plane upon arrival and welcomed me to Tonga; 'Iunisi Fiefia, who accompanied me to the airport at my departure; and two dear friends and colleagues, Garth Rogers and Tavi Pālangi Kauffmann.

122

Outside Tonga, I have enjoyed discussing my data with a number of other anthropologists, especially Sharon Tiffany, Charles Urbanowicz, George Marcus, and Richard Feinberg. However, this acknowledgement should not be taken to indicate their endorsement of arguments presented in the dissertation, for we remain in disagreement on many points. I would also like to acknowledge the contribution of members of my dissertation committee, past and present. Dr. Robert Canfield has been most helpful, and I deeply appreciate his assistance. Finally, I wish to acknowledge the assistance of two analytic philosophers, Jere Jones and Fred Korn, whose insistent criticism forced me to deal with shortcomings in the formulation of the argument. And above all else has been the contribution of Fred Korn. Those who know me and my work well know how extensive and important his support and encouragement have been. For the rest let me say that this dissertation would not have been possible without him.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

*Household Composition in the Tonga Islands: A Question of Options and Alternatives**

SHULAMIT R. DECKTOR KORN

The composition of households in Tonga (Western Polynesia) does not conform with ideal 121
patterns, nor does the statistical description of household types reveal clear principles of 592
household structure. Instead, Tongan household structure is most clearly understood within a
decision-making framework as the outcome of different ways of satisfying the material and
social demands on the individuals and family groups who make up the households, considered
in relation to the resources available to them. This analysis directs attention to some of the 121
conceptual problems associated with the use of terms like "option" and "choice" in
constructing decision models for discussing the diverse behavior of different people in a society.

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF OCEANIC SOCIETIES commonly note that [592]
the composition of a household may change from one month to the next—an observation that is also true of household organization in the Tonga Islands of Western Polynesia. The chief concern of this paper is to demonstrate that the composition of Tongan households is best understood as the outcome of different ways of satisfying the material and social demands on the individuals and family groups who make up the household, considered in relation to the resources available to them. A secondary concern, but one of more general significance, is to indicate some of the problems associated with the concept of choice in the construction of "decision models."

Island societies provide special opportunities for studying "social forms and usages that help to get people to resources and resources to people" (Vayda and Rappaport 1963:137). Indeed, 20 years ago, Goodenough pointed out that some of the peculiar features of Malayo-Polynesian social organization are "admirably suited for keeping group membership balanced in relation to its immediate land resources" (1955:80-81). The most notable of these features are the optative character of land-holding groups and the prevalence of adoption, both of which are presently regarded by anthropologists as mechanisms for shifting people about in relation to the available resources. A third

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*Fieldwork on Tongatapu was carried out from July 1969 to May 1970. The support of an [101]
International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women is gratefully
acknowledged, and I thank the Government of Tonga for permitting me to conduct fieldwork. [122]

A short preliminary version of this paper was read at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the
American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, December 1973, and was subsequently [113]
presented in expanded form at the Symposium on Household Economic Strategies at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, Monterey, March 1974. The paper, in its various versions, has benefitted especially from the comments of Sharon Tiffany and Fred Korn.

TONGAN KIN GROUPS: THE NOBLE AND THE COMMON VIEW(1)

Shulamit R. Decktor Korn
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The focus on the upper classes in society, or upon who the political leaders are and what they do, is common among Polynesian specialists. 114 The noble view in anthropology is most notable in the recent book by Goldman(2) which focuses almost exclusively on Polynesian systems of aristocracy. Despite his title, Goldman makes it quite clear in the body of the monograph that his concern and interest are only in the upper ranks. In *Social Stratification in Polynesia,*(3) Sahlins also adopts a noble view. In his analysis of Tongan political organisation, he equates the *ha'a* system [613] of Tonga with the kinship system, something he could not have done if [565] he had moved his gaze from the top of the social hierarchy.(4) Contrasting with these noble views, Beaglehole(5) Aoyagi(6) and Morton(7) make it [61] clear that they are writing about commoners and give relatively little attention to the rank aspects of kinship. Thus, the title of this paper refers not only to Tongans' views, but also to those of anthropologists.

Since the publication of *Social Stratification in Polynesia,* further data about Tongan kinship have become available in a number of articles.(8) It is now quite clear that the *ha'a* is not the only kind of Tongan kin group [613] [61]

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1. The data presented in this paper are based on material collected mainly in Tongatapu. [184] As such, they may be untypical of the situation in areas of Tonga that are less [101] subject to rapid change. Field work in Tongatapu was carried out from July 1969 to May 1970 with the aid of an International Fellowship from the American [122] Association of University Women, whose support is gratefully acknowledged.
   An earlier version of the paper was presented at the ASAO (Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania) Symposium on recent research in Samoa and Tonga at the 70th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Toronto, Canada, December 1972. The paper has benefited from extended discussion with Fred Korn and comments on the earlier version by Sharon Tiffany and Charles Urbanowicz.
2. Goldman 1970.
3. Sahlins 1958.
4. Beaglehole's study of a contemporary village is cited by Sahlins in his bibliography. A reading of Beaglehole in conjunction with Gifford makes it clear that there must have been more to the kinship system than Gifford has to say about it.
5. 1941.
6. 1966.
7. 1972.
8. Aoyagi 1966; Bott 1972; Kaeppler 1971.

121 It is hoped that this discussion will encourage dialogue on the potential usefulness of objects now found mainly in the storerooms of museums and all but unknown in their countries of origin.

NOTES

101 122 * Research in the Tongan Islands was carried out for one and a half years in 1964—1967 supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-FI-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wennergren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Research on ethnographic collections and documents in museums and libraries was carried out in 1969—1972, supported by grants from the Wennergren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Arts. To these institutions I wish to express my appreciation. 122 I also wish to thank Barbara B. Smith, Dieter Christensen, Mervyn McLean, and Richard Moyle for helpful comments on the manuscript and to acknowledge permission to publish the following photographs British Museum, figs. 1 and 2; Royal Scottish Museum, fig. 5; Pitt Rivers Museum, fig. 6; Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, fig. 7; Museo Nazionale de Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, fig. 8; Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, fig. 9; Bernisches Historisches Museum, fig. 10; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, figs. 12 and 16; London School of Economics, fig. 13; Peabody Museum, Salem, figs. 14 and 15; and Bishop Museum, figs. 3, 4, 11 and 17.

534 171 114 1. The earliest panpipes from Samoa that I have been able to locate were accessioned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, in 1886. These two panpipes have five and seven pipes in graduated series, are beveled on one side only, and are provenanced to Tutuila.

534 535 171 177 2. Bamboo stamping tubes have also been reported for Uvea and Futuna, but it is likely that they were used in conjunction with musical types that diffused from Fiji or Tonga. In view of this, stamping tubes in Hawaii are clearly a problem, but it could well be that they are post-European.

534 113 3. It would be illuminating to know who on the second voyage gave the panpipe to Banks. According to Rienits and Rienits (who used an illustration of this panpipe, 1968: 118), it "was given to Cook as a present and taken home by him". However, there is no evidence for this supposition — they were probably simply misled by the "Cook coll." label.

4. The attributions in the early manuscript catalogue in Berlin are not always reliable, however, and lacking independent documentation, these panpipes cannot be definitely ascribed to Forster (see Kaeppler 1974). The panpipes cannot be located and may have been destroyed during the war.

and group relations must be distinguished from 'natural' principles of 121
status allocation based on such factors as personality, sex, and age,
which appear in all societies. However, in certain highly stratified
societies such as India and Ruanda, culturally defined categories of
rank are claimed to be pervasive in structuring interpersonal relationships,
including the widely noted higher status of elders to the young,
of men to women, and of strong-willed to weak-willed individuals.
Whether or not individuals in these societies are necessarily more 'rank
conscious' in an absolute sense than individuals in societies without
elaborate ideologies of rank is a question that cannot be answered here.

Conditions in the modern kingdom of Tonga, the only remaining 565
Polynesian kingdom in a region that has been culturally typed for the 554
prevalence of its highly stratified societies (Sahlins, 1963), depart in
some ways from the view which posits the permeation of both inter-
and intra-class interactions with concerns for status differentiation in
terms of a given ideology of rank. Research focussed on Tongan village
life has not discovered a predominantly hierarchical quality in the everyday
interactions among commoners. Neither the Beagleholes, who 565
studied a small village of commoners in the Vava'u region of Tonga
(Beaglehole, 1941), nor Aoyagi, who studied a village on the main 554
island of Tongatapu (Aoyagi, 1966), emphasized the hierarchical quality 114
of village life. Quite to the contrary, Aoyagi noted the absence of
internal stratification in the village that she observed. My own material 565
from fieldwork in the village of 'Uiha in the Ha'apai region of Tonga 554
confirms the view that there is as much equality as hierarchy in the [101]
observed daily interactions among commoners.[2] I had expected the organization
of casual groups within the village, especially the organization 571
of work groups, to be governed by principles of status differentiation, 565
borrowed conceptually from the principles that govern interactions 554
within Tongan kin groups and between social classes, but I did not
find this connection. For example, there is a striking contrast in the 571
behavior of commoner participants in the daily, recreational *fai kava,*
in which kava drinking and conversations are conducted in a relaxed 565
atmosphere where distinctions of status are difficult to perceive, and 276
in the formally ritualized *'ilo kava,* in which the noble or his represen- 574
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[2] I lived for 2½ months on the island (and village) of 'Uiha during the summer
of 1972. I spent shorter periods of time in the capital, Nuku'alofa, and
touring the main island of Tongatapu. I worked almost entirely in the Tongan
language. Since the scope of this paper is broader than a community study, [122]
my constructs are based upon my own data and reading of published literature.

000 imperceptibly effected, the waves receeding with it leaves a dry rock behind for the reception of broken coral, sand &c^{a}.[1]

After leaving Palmerstone Island I steered west with a view of
122 making the best of my way to Annamocka. We still continued to have variable Winds, frequently between the North and West, with Squals, thunder and much rain. During these Showers which were generally very copious we saved a good quantity of water; and finding we could get more by the rain in an hour than by the still in a Month, I laid it aside as a thing attended with more trouble than profit.[2]

Thur. 24[3] In the night between the 24th and 25th we pass'd Savage island,[4]
Fri. 25
Mon. 28 and on the 28th at 10 AM we made the islands which lay to the Eastward of Anamocka,[5] bearing WBN about 4 or 5 leagues distant. I steered to the South of these islands and then hauled up for Anamocka, which at 4 PM bore NWbN, Tellefages[6] SWBS and Comango[7] NBW distant about five miles. The Weather being Squally with rain, I anchored at the approach of night in 15 fathom water over a bottom of Coral sand and Shells, Comango bearing NW about 2
[439] leagues distant. Soon after we had Anchored, we caught with hook and line a good quantity of fish and the inhabitants of the island brought off a few Cocoanuts and bread fruit which they exchanged for nails.

TUESDAY 29*th*. At 4 AM sent Lieutenant King with two boats to Comango to procure refreshments, and at 5 made the Signal weighed
439 in order to ply up to Anamocka, the wind being at NW. It was no sooner day light than we were visited by several people who came
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431
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[1] It is interesting to find Cook indulging in the reasoning of the foregoing paragraph; and as usual, when he generalizes from his own direct observation, he is not far from the truth as it was obtainable in pre-Darwin days. He is generalizing on 'low' islands, be it noted, not on the volcanic variety; and he mentions, only to ignore after mentioning, the theory that low islands may have been thrown up by earthquakes. He had probably discussed the matter with Anderson; cf. pp. 855–7 below.

[2] 'Our Stock of Water being reduced to 7½ Tons, went to a daily allowance of 2 quarts, exclusive of what was used for boiling the pease, wheat and sweet wort. this regulation makes one Hogshead last the 24 hours. Water on board at leaving New Zealand, 27 Tons.' —Burney journal, 21 April.—'left the Water Cask free again, having this last week, caught at different times with our Awnings, between 3 and 4 Tons of rain water.'—ibid., 26 April.—'We've had some very heavy showers during these 24 Hours. We caught a Ton of Water which we find very good.'—Clerke, 26 April.

[3] 'Philip Woodfie[l]d Carpenters mate whilst in the execution of his duty on deck fell down and broke his leg.'—Griffin. He fell under the tiller, adds Burney.

[4] Niue; for Cook's previous visit and the name 'Savage' see II, pp. 435–9. At 10 p.m. 'M^{r} Gore saw land, but what he saw was judged a deception made by the moon's shadow, for we did not imagine ourselves so near.'—King. Later the *Discovery* made the signal for seeing land.

[5] Cook was now coming into the Tongan islands a little south of his track from the east in June 1774, which he crossed just south of these islands, the Otu Tolu group. Anamocka is of course Nomuka.

[103] [6] Kelefesia, the southernmost island of the Nomuka group. [7] Mango.

off in Canoes from different islands, bringing with them two pigs and 439
a quantity of fruit and roots all of[1] which they exchanged for Hatchets,
Nails, beads &ca. About 8 or 9 oClock Mr King returned with seven 648
hogs and a quan[t]ity of Fruit and roots; there came with him the 431
chief of the island named *Tooboulangee*[2] and another whose name was
Tapah,[3] they brought me a present of a hog with a promise of more 634
the next day. As soon as the boats were aboard I stood for Anamocka,
and as the wind was scant, I intended to go between Anamocka etc[4] 122
and the breakers to the SE of it, but on drawing near we met with very [133]
erregular Soundgs varying every cast 10 or 12 fathoms, so that I was
obliged to give up the design and go to the Southward of all; this
carried us to leeward and obliged us to spend [the] night under sail.
It was very dark and we had the Wind from every direction, accompaned with heavy Showers of rain, so that at day-light the next
morning we found our selves much farther off than we were the evening before and the little wind we had was right in our teeth. We Wed. 30
continued to ply all day to very little purpose and in the evening anchored in 39 fms Water the bottom Coral rocks and broken shells—
the west point of Anamocka bearing ENE four miles distant. Toobowlangee and Tapah kept their promise and brought me off some hogs, 439
and I got by exchanges from different people several others and as [431]
much fruit as we could dispence with.[5] It was remarkable that during
the whole day, the Indians would hardly part with any one thing to
any body but me, Captain Clerke did not get above one or two hogs.
Knowing from experience, that if every body was allowed to traffick
with the natives according to thier own caprice, perpetual quarrels
would essue, to prevent this I ordered that particular person[s]
should manage the traffick both on board and ashore, and prohibited
the trade to all others. I also ordered that no curiosities should be
purchased till the Ships were supplyed with Provisions and leave
give[n] for that purpose.

At 4 AM hoisted out a boat and sent the Master to Sound the MAY
SW side of Anamocka where there appeared to be a harbour, formed Thurs. 1

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[1] *two pigs . . . all of:* Adm 55/111 *two Hogs, or Pigs, some Plantains yams, Breadfruit & Coconuts.*

[2] Tupoulangi.

[3] Tepa possibly, but probably Kepa would be the better form: Anderson 'Taipa or Kaipa', Burney Kaper, Edgar Kapee. It looks as if he was a *matapule*—not a chief, but what we might call an administrative official, of some importance. [565]

[4] Nomuka Iki ('little Nomuka'), the little island about a mile south-west of Nomuka.

[5] 'The Natives soon gave us a specimen of their happy genius in the art of pilfering, by stealing a hatchet out of the galley, for which, Richd Young a quiet and good man was punished with twelve lashes.'—Williamson, 30 April. But he was probably inattentive, as well as quiet and good. He was cook's mate. Charlton records the punishment as 6 lashes, for neglect of duty and is probably more reliable.

went ashore again with a party of Marines and such of the Cattle as 122
were weak, I remained there till sunset when every thing be[ing] settled
to my satisfaction I returned on board leaving the Command on
shore to M^{r} King. Tapa who was now become our fast friend and 648
seemed to be the only active man about us, had a house brought on
Mens shoulders a full quarter of a mile and placed by the one we 565
occupied, in order to be near us as well in the night as day.[1] 482

SATURDAY *3rd.* Began to Water, cut wood, and make hay for the 122
catle. We at first began to cut wood abreast of the Ship it being there
in the greatest plenty and the most convenient to get on board, but [137]
it proved to be of the Mancheneel kind, yeilding a juice of a Milky
colour & of so corrosive a nature that it raised blisters on the Skin and
injured the eys of such of the workmen as it happened to fly upon;[2]
so that the wooding party were obliged to remove to the Cove where
wee took off Water and kept guard, where the natives furnished us
with other wood. M^{r} King and M^{r} Bailey began to observe equal [126]
altitudes of the sun in order to get the rate of the time keepers.[3] In the
evening before the natives retired from our post Tapah harangued 565
them for some time, we could only guess at the subject and judged he 537
was telling them how to behave to us, and encouraging them to
bring the produce of the island to market as a considerable quantity
was brought the next day.[4] 122

The Discoveries Small bower Cable parted, being cut in two by Sun. 4
the rocks, this occasioned us to look at ours which were found unhurt. Mon. 5

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[1] 'Omai is of great use to us, not only as an interpreter, but in keeping up a good understand^{g} between us & the Natives, for they pay him great attention & listen to the stories he tells them about Britannee, which doubtless tends to keep up our consequence, too apt to be lessen'd by the familiarity of our intercourse; & from which we find out that the Venereal disorder has been left among them; so it is, that wherever we go, we spread an incurable distemper which nothing we can do can ever recompence.'—King. [123] [177] [164]

[2] 'As our people were cutting wood they cut some Manganeel trees, the Sap of which flew into some of their Eyes which made them nearly blind for several days, their heads swelling very much but they all happily recovered their sight again as well as before.'—Bayly, 6 May. The machineel is a West Indian tree, with a caustic and poisonous milky sap. Anderson got the name of the Tongan tree as 'faitanoo'—*feta'au*. It was common to India, China and Malaysia as well as Polynesia, and Linnaeus had already named it *Excoecaria agallocha*—a tree growing up to about 36 feet, with smooth oval leaves, and the white, adhesive, irritating latex that damaged and alarmed the sailors.—'[A B]otanist might discover some differences, but to appearance any[on]e not so well skilled would certainly have no doubt of its being [manch]ineel.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 290. [824]

[3] 'The 2^{d} Went on shore to look for a convenient place to observe in where I met Cap^{t} Cook who objected to my going on shore with my Inst^{s} on account of the insufficiency of the Guard. 3^{d} Received an invitation from Cap^{t} Cook to dine with him, when he proposed my going on Shore with my Astronom^{l} Quad^{t} only but not to carry my observatory, or at most to have only one between M^{r} King & me.—at last we settled it so as not to carry any observ^{y} on Shore but to pack up the Quad^{ts} every evening & deposit them in an Indian house that Cap^{t} Cook had hired for his people.'—Bayly T.

[4] 'another Chief of some consequence whose name is Kapee who frequently made long harangues to the People and kept them in good order, he was call'd by our People Lord North.'—Edgar, 2 May.

The Discovery having recovered her small bower anchor Shifted 122 Wed. 7
her birth, but not before the best bour Cable shared the same
fate as the other.[1] Had the Company of Feenough to dinner, and
also the next day when he was attended by Tapah, Toobow and Thur. 8
some other Chiefs, none but Tapah was allowed to sit at table with 648
him or to eat in the same place; before his arrival I had generally, 634
what with men and Women a larger company than I could find room
for. It is not here as at Otaheite, for the women to be denied the 565
previledge of eating with the men. The first day of our arrival the 264
Indians stole out of the Ship a larg[e] Junk ax,[2] I applied to Feenough 576
to have it again and it was brought on board while we were at dinner.
These people very frequently took oppertunities to shew us what 264
expert thieves they were, even some of the Cheifs did not think this 562
profession beneath them; one was caught carrying out of the Ship
concealed under his cloathes the bolt belonging to y^{e} Spun yarn 648
wench,[3] for which I ordered him a dozen lashes and made him pay a 685
hog for his liberty,[4] after this we were not troubled with thieves of
rank, their servants or slaves were employed in this dirty work, on [634]
which a floging made no more impression than it would have done [565]
upon the Main-mast; their masters so far from making intrest for [681]
them when they were caught would very often advise us to kill them,
and as this was a punishment we did not chouse to inflect they generally escaped unpunished, because we could inflict nothing which
they thought a punishment. Capt. Clerke hit upon a method which [302]
had some effect, this was by shaving their heads for though it is not a
very uncommon thing to see both men and women with their heads
shaved, yet its being done on this occasion was looked upon as a mark
of infamy and marked out the man. On the 10th Feenough dined on Sat. 10
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[1] According to Griffin, 7 May, the *Discovery* first lost her best bower anchor, and then let go her small bower in 35 fathoms and veered to half a cable; the ship drove and the anchor hooked the *Resolution*'s cable. The stream anchor was then carried out to the eastward to keep clear of the *Resolution*. Next day they carried out the kedge anchor and warped the ship some distance from the small bower, by which means they got it unhooked from the *Resolution*'s cable, 'hove up the Anchor found the Buoy Crush'd to pieces, I suppose from its being drawn under the Resolutions Anchor. . .'.

[2] Axes, says Blanckley, *A Naval Expositor* (1750), 'are used for cutting up Junk or cleaving wood'. Junk was old cable cut into short lengths; it was teased out and used again for various shipboard purposes.

[3] i.e. winch. A small winch with a *fly-wheel* was used for making ropes and spun-yarn.

[4] 'An Indian of some consequence who was with Fee'nōū stole [blank] on board for which he was severely flogg'd then had his hands tied firmly behind and was carry'd to the place where we traded on shore but not releas'd till a large hog was brought for his ransom. I am far from thinking there was any injustice in punishing this man for the theft as it cannot be determined what might be the consequence if such practices had been permitted but that he should be confin'd in a painfull posture for some hours after or a ransom demanded after proper punishment for the crime had been inflicted I believe will scarcely be found consonant with the principles of justice or humanity upon the strictest scrutiny.' —Anderson, 9 May.

On the 10th Feenough dined on
262 board as indeed he did every day, after we had dined some of his
412 servants brought on board a mess for him, it consisted of fish soup and
634 yams; the fish and soup was brought off in a Plantain leafe. Instead of
common water to make the soup they had made use of Cocoanut
648 water in which the fish had been boiled or stewed; this was probably
252 done in a wooden vessel with hot stones. I tasted of it and found it so
good that I had afterwards fish dress'd the same way and found it
very good though my Cook did not come up to theres.

122 SUNDAY 11*th*. Finding that we had quite exhausted the island of all
most every thing it produced I this day got every thing off from the
[634] shore, intending as soon as the Discovery had recovered her best
[648] bower anchor, to proceed to an island called Happi,[1] laying to the NE
where Feenough told me I should meet with every thing I wanted
and strongly importuned me to go thither before I visited Tongatabu.

Mon. 12 The 12th and 13th was spent in recovering the Discoveries Anchor
Tues. 13 which was at last accomplished[2] and on the 14th in the Morning we
Wed. 14 weighed anchor and steered for Aghao,[3] with a view of passing to the
NW of the small islands that lay to the North and NE of Anamocka,[4]
[634] as I could not be assured of a passage amongst them. Feenough and
some others remained on board till near noon when they embarked
[648] in a Canoe and stood in amongst [the] islands.[5] At 4 PM being the
length of Ogodoo[6] we steered to the north, leaving Omattafoa[7] and
Aghao on our larboard, keeping along the West side of a reef of rocks
which lay to the westward of Ogodoo, till we came to their no[r]thern
extremity round which we hauled in for the island with a design to
anchor for the night, but it came upon us before we could find a place
in less than 55 fathom water, and rather than come to in this depth I
choose to spend the night under sail.

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[1] Ha'apai is the penultimate northerly group of Tonga, not a single island. Clerke got it as 'henua Arpi': 'henua'=conventional Tongan *fonua*, cf. Tahitian *fenua*, Maori *whenua*. He adds, '. . . the word Arpi I find in their Language bespeaks a cluster or Group of any thing wherever it is applied'.—17 May. Here he has, quite intelligibly, been confused by another word, '*api'api*, which means crowded or full (as of a road or a basket).

[2] 'On Tuesday Afternoon chiefly by means of some Oyl thrown on the Water which renderd the Surface so smooth that the Anchor was seen at the bottom altho' in 17 fathoms, and the position in which it lay discoverd.'—Edgar, 8 May.—'This Anchor may in the course of the Voyage be of such Consequence that I am determin'd nothing but a conviction of an impossibility of getting it, shall send me away without it.'—Clerke, 10 May.

[131] [3] Kao, the beautiful cone-peaked island, 3,380 feet high and thus a prominent mark, two miles NNE of Tofua. It lies due west of Ha'ano, the most northerly of the bigger islands of the Ha'apai group.

[4] The low islands of the Kotu or Ha'apai Lulunga group, small, scattered, but linked up with dangerous reefs, shoals, rocks and breaking seas, and without good anchorage. For Cook's complicated track about this group and Ha'apai see Fig. 5 A

[502] [5] '. . . thier rate of sailing was about 3 feet to our 2, and in turning to windward they sailed above a point nearer to the wind than our Ships when sharp trimmed.'—Burney.

[103] [6] Kotu, the westernmost island of its group. [7] Tofua.

A [See category 102 , p. 104--Analyst]

THURSDAY 15*th*. At day break the next morning steered to the East 122
for the passage between Fodua and Callefango,[1] with a small breeze
at S and SSE. About 10 o'clock Feenough came on board and re- [634
mained with us all day, he brought with him two hogs & a quantity 648
of fruit, the last was very exceptable as our stock was nearly expended. 431]
At Noon the latitude was 19°49′45″ S and we had made 7 M. of lon-
gitude from Anamocka; Amattafoa, or Otafoa[2] bore N 88° W, Aghao
N 71° W, Fodua N 89° W and Afeva[3] S 12° West. After passing Fodua we 122
met with a reef of rocks which, as we had but little Wind, gave us 103
some trouble to keep clear of them, they lay between Fodua and An- 131
neniva,[4] a small low isle which lies 7 or 8 miles from Fodua in the
direction of ENE. Fodua is a small island of middling height and
bounded all round by a steep rock; it lays S 67° E distant 6 leagues
from Aghao, and 3 from Ogodoo in the direction N 33° E. Being past 122
the rocks just mentioned we hauled up for Anneneva in hopes of find-
ing anchorage, we were again desapointed and obliged to spend the
night making short boards, for although we had land in every direction
the Sea was unfathomable.

FRIDAY 16*th*. At Day break in the morning of the 16th with a gentle
breeze at SE steered NE for Happi which was now in sight. The Wind [133]
Scanting upon us we could not fitch, so that we had to ply to wind-
ward in doing of this we once passed over some Coral rocks on which
had 6 fathom water,[5] the moment we were over them had no ground
with 80 fathom of line; at this time the isles of Happi bore from
N 50° E to S 9° W. We got up with the no[r]thermost of these isles by
Sunset and there found our selves in the very same situation as we
were the two preceding evenings, so that we had another neight to

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[1] Fotuha'a, a flat-topped island, with a coast-line of cliffs, about 9 miles NNE of Kotu; [103
and Lofanga, about the same distance east of Fotuha'a. The passage is clear, except close 131]
to Lofanga.

[2] *Amattafoa, or Otafoa*: Cook, one imagines under the instruction of Anderson, is getting closer to the proper name of the island, [O] Tofua. Cf. *Voyage*, I, p. 237, n., where Douglas remarks on 'the great difficulty of knowing accurately the exact names of the South Sea Islands, as procured from the natives', and compares Cook, Anderson and Tasman.—'Captain Cook's Amattafoa, is, with Mr. Anderson, *Tofoa*. . . . Mr. Anderson's great attention to matters of this sort being, as we learn from Captain King, well known to every body on board, and admitted always by Captain Cook himself, his mode of spelling has been adopted on the engraved chart of the Friendly Islands; which has made it necessary to adopt it also, in printing the journal.' This is an enlargement of brief notes by Douglas in the MS, *f.* 127v; and there are other notes on names, based on Anderson. Bligh AL has a cantankerous and partly illegible comment on Douglas's note: 'C. King know nothing about the Names of the Islands, & Mr Anderson clev[er as] he was could only get them as the ship sailed past, or those he could see at Anchor, . . . of which from one Native's information is obvious, & his names are in gen[eral] very erroneous . . .'.

[3] Ha'afeva, 4½ miles to the east of Kotu, the principal island of the group.

[4] Douglas: 'according to Mr Anderson Neeneeva'; Niniva, within a large expanse of reef.

[5] This must have been the coral Balfour Patch.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 105]

spend under sail with land and breakers in every direction. Towards 122
the evening Feenough who had been on board all day, went a shore
to Happi and took Omai with him, he did not forget our situation 634
and kept up a good fire all night by way of a land mark. 648

SATURDAY 17*th*. At day-light the next morning I sent a boat to look
for anchorage, she soon found a place and we came to in 24 fathom 122
the bottom Coral sand, the northern point of Happi or the north end
of Ha-an-no bore N 16° E, the Southern point of Happi or Hooleva 133
S 29° W, and the North end of Lefooga S 65° E.[1] Two ledges of rocks [131]
lay without us, the one bearing S 50° W and the other WBN½N distant
2 or 3 miles. We lay before a creek in the reef which made it convenient
landing at all times and we were not above ¾ of a mile from
the shore. By the time we had anchored the Ships were filled with 609
the Natives and surrounded by a multitude of Canoes, filled also
with them. They brought with them hogs, Fowls, fruit and roots
which they exchanged for Hatchets, Knives, Nails, beads, Cloth &c^a. 439
Fenough and Omai having come on board soon after it was light in
order to interduce me to the people ashore I now accompaned them 634
to the isle[2] for that purpose; The Chief conducted me to a house situated 648
close to the Sea beach which I had seen brought thether but a
few minutes before. In this we were seated that is The Chief, Omai
and my self, the other chiefs, and the Multitude seated themselves in
a circle without before us. I was then asked how long I intended to 634
stay, on my saying five days, Tapah was order[ed] to come and sit by 648
me and proclaime it to the people. He then Harangu'd them in a set 565
speach mostly dictated by Feenough. The purport of this speach as I 537

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[1] See Edgar's Chart XLVI and Fig. 5. The islands Cook names are Ha'ano, Uoleva [103]
and Lifuka. These are three of the largest of the Ha'apai group. But Uoleva does not
provide the 'Southern point' of the group: Uiha is a more southerly, and larger island,
close to it. Edgar's chart gets the relative positions of the islands quite well, though his
names, apart from 'ar-no' and 'Lafugar' are misplaced.

[2] What isle? It is curious that Cook does not more closely define his landing place; but we know from other records that it was at the northern end of Lifuka—cf. *Voyage*, I, p. 242: 'landing at the North part of Lefooga, a little to the right of the ship's station'. This, together with Chart XLVI, where the anchorage is marked, and what is evidently the 'creek in the reef' mentioned by Cook, would argue that the precise place was towards the tip of the island (the point Ahanga), almost at the northern end of the bay called Faka'amumei. Local tradition now records the anchorage correctly enough, but has the landing-place at the point called Muikuku, the south-west end of the bay, just east of which is the village called Koulo. Now Koulo means 'gold'; and why should a Tongan [103]
village be thus called? Because, say the old men, when this village was built it was called 'Gold' in memory of Captain Cook's visit; for his boats were full of bags of gold. Cook presented a few medals, left over from the second voyage, at various places on this voyage; and very likely here. Brass or 'platina' may well have come down in tradition as gold. The story was told to me on a trip by cutter to the outlying island Mo'unga'one in July 1958, to explain a sudden surprising question 'What did Captain Cook's ships weigh?' The Tongan knows that gold is heavy; but when he first saw—or last saw, for that matter—a gold coin I do not know.

SUNDAY 25*th*. In my walk to day I happened to step into a house where a Woman was dressing the eyes of a young child which was blind; the eyes were much inflamed and seemed to be covered with a thin film. The instruments she used were two slender wooden probes, with which she had probed round the eyes so as to make them bleed; she had almost finished the opperation when I went in so that I saw but little of it.[1] In the same house another women was shaving a Childs head with a Sherks tooth stuck into the end of a piece of stick, she first wet the hair before the razor with a rag diped in water; the opperation gave no sort of pain to the Child although the hair was taken off as close as any of our razors would have done it,[2] I tryed one and found it an excellent succedanuem. But the men shave the beard with two shells, one of which they place under a small part of the beard and with the other scrape that part off;[3] in this manner they will shave very close, the opperation is rather long but no ways painfull and there are men who seem to profess it, and it was as common for to see some of our men sit to be shaved by these shavers, as it was for the Chiefs to come aboard to be shaved by our Barbers.[4] 757 752 [413] 302 237 [412]

Finding we got little or nothing where we lay,[5] I resolved to change our station and wait Feenoughs return in some other place; accordingly in the fore noon of the 26th we got under sail and stood to the Southward along the reef of the island, having 14 and 13 fathom water a sandy bottom. We however met with several detatched Shoals, some were descovered by breake[r]s, some by the Water upon them appearing discourlered and others by the lead. At half past two PM having past several of these shoals and seeing more 122 133 Mon. 26

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were said to be at Huahine; and he was to have another one, p. 196 below. '. . . the man gave such answers & drew the number of the masts upon the sand, as to stagger us & put some confidence in the report, the fellow was very ready to go in our boats to prove the truth of his tale.'—King. [648]

[1] Mariner has an interesting paragraph on Tongan ophthalmia and eye-surgery, II, p. cii: ending, 'Mr Mariner neither saw nor heard of but one man who had lost his sight by disease'.

[2] 'an absolute falsity [it] will not take it off so [well] as scissors.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 260.

[3] 'this is a better [plan] and they cut their bea[rds] off pretty close.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 261.

[4] 'none of our Sailors could bear it & none more than once try['d how] they liked the meth[od].'—Bligh AL, I, p. 261. Cf. Ellis, I, p. 93, on Tongan feelings in the matter: 'This operation [with shells] however is rather painful and tedious, and observing how expeditious and clean we performed it, they were desirous of trying it also; and it so far exceeded their expectations that scarce a day passed without plenty of customers.'

[5] 'But we have purchased almost all their commodities; they having very few things to dispose of except their young Girls which seems to be almost the only trade at present, & indeed is very advantageous to the men, for they are paid a hatchet for every nights lodging, or a Shirt.—This seems the Common run of trade—but in some instances I have seen two hatchets & a shirt or sheet given for a Nights lodging with a fine young Girl.—The men receive what is agree'd for & leave them on Board, & come for them again the next morning, & if the girls get any thing more they take it away the moment they come.'—Bayly T, 28 May. 836 [439]

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122 before us, I hauled into a bay which lays between the South end of
133 Lefooga and the North end of Ooleva, and there anchored in 17 fathom water, the bottom sand with here and there rock. The Discovery did not get to an anchor till sunset, she touched upon one of the Shoals, but backed off again without receiving any damage.

312 As soon as we had anchored I sent Mr Bligh to Sound the bay in which we lay and my self accompaned by Mr Gore, landed on the Southe[r]n part of Lefooga to examine the Country and look for fresh water, not that we wanted any having filled all our casks at the last place, but had been told that at this part of the island was some better than any we had met with. This will not be the only time I shall have to remark that these people do not know what good Water is. We were conducted to two wells and found the Water bad in both
349 and the Natives told us they had no better.[1] Near the South end of the Island and on the West side, we met with a artificial Mount,
223 that had been raised in remote times, as large trees &ca were growing upon it. I judged it to be about Forty feet high and the Diameter of its summit measured fifty.[2] At the foot of this Mount stood a stone which must have been hewn out of Coral rock, it was 4 feet broad 2½ thick and 14 high, and we were told by the Natives present that not
349 above half its length was above ground. They called it Tangata (Man) or Arekee (King) and told us that it was set up and the Mount
211 raised by some of their fore Fathers in memory of one of their Kings,
122 but how long sence they could not tell.[3] Night coming on we returned on board, and at the same time Mr Bligh from sounding the bay, in
133 which he found from 14 to 20 fathoms water, the bottom for the most

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[1] Natives of coral islands did not feel the need of water for drinking, and what they had was good enough for fresh-water washing. Hence the difference of opinion between [272] Tongans and Cook about what was 'good' water. Cook's men followed the native example, e.g. with the muddy and brackish fluid at Nomuka—'but the milk of the cocoanuts in a great mesure made up for the badness of it; as they were so plentifull that we seldom drank any thing else'.—Gilbert.

[2] 'In many of our walks about this Island we saw more numerous & extensive plantations than at Anamocka, & in better order; yet towards the sea side particularly to the Eastward, the country is still waste owing perhaps to its being a sandy soil; an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with an arbour of trees surrounding a green plot attract'd our notice; we were busy in forming conjectures as to the use of this spot, when we learnt that it was only a decoy for Pidgeons, being inticed thither by its shade & coolness, & likely by the natives putting some thing they like, whilst they hide themselves among the shrubs, & with a net throw over & catch them.'—King, 21 May. This artificial mount has now crumbled away, and Lifuka is virtually flat from one end to the other. *Siaheulupe* was the name given to the mount where wild pigeons (*lupe*) were snared. As Uoleva, the next island south, had a large number of pigeon mounds, and seems to have been a favourite spot for the chiefly sport, this mound may quite likely have belonged to the same series.

[3] The great stone no longer exists, except possibly underground. There are much smaller monumental stones extant, some built into *langi*, and there are said to be two monoliths as far away from Lifuka as Niuatoputapu, important enough to have names. But the only familiar thing of the sort is the great trilithon called Ha'amonga 'a Maui, at Hahake near Kolonga on Tongatapu, which many date from as early as the eleventh century.

part Sand but not without some Coral rock. This place is much 122
better sheltered than where we last lay, but between the two is a 133
place much better than either.[1]

Lefooga and Ooleva are divided from each other by a reef of Coral 133
rock which dryes at low water so that one may walk from the one to
the other without weting a foot. This last island is as barren as the 137
other is fertile, producing nothing but a few scurvy trees and shrubs
and wholy without Inhabitants.[2] 361

TUESDAY 27*th*. At day break the next Morning I made the Signal to
wiegh, and as I intended to attempt a passage to Anamocka by the 122
SW in amongst the islands, I sent the Master away in a boat to
Sound before the Ships. But before we could get under sail, the wind
became unsettled and made it unsafe to attempt a passage this way
till we were better acquainted with it or had a steady wind. I therefore
lay fast and made the sign[1] for the Master to return, and afterwards
sent him and the Master of the Discovery, each in a boat to
examine the Channels as far as they could allowing time to return
on board before dark. The wind was unsettled all day and blew in
squals with some Showers of rain. About Noon a large sailing Canoe 648
came under our Stern in which the Indians on board told us was
Fattafee Polaho King of all the Isles;[3] we had reason to doubt this, but 643
they stood to it and now for the first time told us that Feenough was [634]
not the King. As it was my intrest as well as inclination to pay my
Court to all these great men, without enquiring into the legality of
their titles, I sent a boat to bring him on board as I understood he
wanted to come. He brought with him as a present to me two good [431]
fat hogs, though not so fat as himself, for he was the most corperate
plump fellow we had met with. I found him to be a Sedate sensible
man, he viewed the Ship and the several new objects with uncommon
attention, and asked several pertinent questions one of
which was 'what brought us to these islands'.[4] After he had satisfied [644]

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[1] The anchorage, one takes it, off Pangai, the little township of Lifuka, on the shores of a distinct bay (see Chart XLVI). But though the anchorage is good, Cook would have found an embarrassing number of reefs and shoals interposing.

[2] 'Olaiva although as large an island as Laifooga, is intirely uncultivated & almost uninhabited, [311] only a few fishermen live in it. it seems a sandy poor soil in general, but we saw
that formerly it had not been intirely neglected, there being appearances of former [131]
cultivation, we understood that from terrible Lightning all the possessions of the inhabitants were destroy'd, some kill'd, & the state of the remains of part of the coconut trees we saw, was occasion'd by that lightning; since which no one had chose to make plantations.' —King, 27 May.

[3] Fatafehi Paulaho, 36th Tu'i Tonga, c. 1770–84. Fatafehi was a 'family name' of the Tu'i [551] Tonga—not a 'surname', but one much used among the members of his chiefly family.

[4] 'he now ask'd our business there, where we came from, & where we were going, questions which had never been put to us before; to satisfy him, a map was produced & explaind to him, & by his explaining it again to his followers, he shew'd that he was

was observed in taking them away and I observed no one spoke to 648
him standing. I stayed till several of his attendants left him, first
paying him Obseisance by bowing the head to the sole of his foot, and 643
touching or taping the same with the upper and under sides of the [644]
fingers of both hands.[1] Others who were not in the circle came as it [576]
seemed on purpose and paid him this mark of respect and then retired without speaking one word. I was quite charmed with the decorum that was observed, I had no where seen the like, no not even amongst more civilized nations.

When I got on board I found the Master returned, he informed 122
me that so far as he had been, there was anchorage and a passage for the Ships, but that towards the South and SE he saw a number of small isles, shoals and breakers. Fore seeing that to go this way would be attended with some risk, I thought it better to return by
the same rout as we came and should have sailed the next morning, Wed. 28
had not the wind been too far Southerly and very unsettled withal.
Fattafee Polaho the King as I shall now call him came on board be- 292
times and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered
with red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from [643]
knowing they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But though very [648]
large prices were offered not one was ever brought for sale, which
shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a [439]
person in either Ship that got one but my self Capt Clerke and Omai.
These Caps or rather bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the [237]
Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets[2] worked upon them
or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radis is 18 or 20 Inches; But a painting which Mr Webber has made of Fattafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea of them.[3]

The Cheif stayed on board till the evening when he left us but his 643
Brother, whose name was also Fattafee,[4] and one or two more re- 648
mained on board all night.

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[1] The observance called *moemoe*. Cook, on his previous voyage, had seen it paid to 644
Latunipulu.—II, pp. 256–7. The 'bowing the head to the sole of his foot' was a special observance to one's hereditary chief. For any other chief the rest of the ceremony would be the essential part.

[2] The Blue-crowned Lory, *Vini australis*. It appears that most of the Tongan red feathers, [439]
however, were not a domestic production but came from Fiji.

[3] See *Voyage*, I, pl. XVIII. This may give a good idea of the bonnet, but it hardly answers to Cook's description of the subject: it shows the head and shoulders of a personable young man, neither the features nor the shoulders being those of a 'most corperate plump fellow'; nor are the features recognizably Tongan—or indeed very Polynesian at all. The bonnets (*fae* or *faefae*) were worn at times of great festival or ceremony.

[4] He is more particularly known as Ma‘ulupekotofa. He was Paulaho's older half-brother. Their mothers were both secondary wives to the 35th Tu‘i Tonga, whose children

122 THURSDAY 29*th*. At day-break the next Morning I weighed with a
fine breeze a[t] ENE and stood to the westward, intending to return by
643 the same rout as I came. We were followed by several sailing Canoes
in one of which was Fattafee the King, as soon as he got on board he
644 enquired for his Brother and the others who had been on board all
648 night; it now appeared that they had stayed without his leave, for he
gave them in very few words such a reprimand as brought tears from
their eyes, and yet they were men not less than thirty years of age.
He was however soon reconciled to their making a longer stay, for
648 he left his brother and five of his attendants on board. And we had
also the Company of a Chief just then arrived from Tongatabu whose
name was *Tooboweitoa*;[1] he no sooner got on board than he sent his
Canoe away and declared that he and five more who came with him
would sleep on board, so that I had now my Cabbin filled with them,
and this was all the ilconveniency they gave me, for they brought
plenty of provisions with them, but this I always looked upon as a
122 present to me and made a return accordingly. About 1 PM the easterly
wind was succeeded by a fresh breeze at SSE. Our Course now being
SSW or more Southerly we had to ply to windward and did but just
fetch the North side of Fodua by 8 oclock, where we spent the night
Frid. 30 making short boards. The next Morning we plyed up to Callafanga
[133] where our friends told us was anchorage. It was 1 PM before we got
soundings under the lee or NW side, in 40 fath. near half a mile from
the shore; but the bank was steep and the bottom rocky and there
lay a chain of breakers to leward.[2] All these circumstances being
against us I stretched away for Ogodoo with the expectation of finding better anchorage under that island, but so much time had been
spent in plying up to Callafanga, that it was dark before we reached
the other, and finding no place to anchor the night was spent as the
preceding one.

[133] SATURDAY 31*st*. The 31st at day-break I stood for the Channel,
[648] which is between Ogodoo and the reef of rocks that lay to the westward of it,[3] but on drawing near, I found the wind too scant to lead
us through, and therefore bore up without the reef and stretched to

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[643] by his chief wife died young. Paulaho, though the younger of the two, became Tu'i Tonga first because of the superior power of his mother's people.

[648] [1] Tupouto'a, 'Tupou the brave', or 'Tupou the warrior'. This was the name of Paulaho's
[644] mother's father.

[2] The name of this island was previously rendered by Cook as Callefango: Lofanga. Anchorage in its vicinity would have been all too dangerous. There are reefs, shoals or foul ground off it in every direction; the chain of breakers Cook mentions was probably on the detached coral shoal called Luapuki, three quarters of a mile WNW of the western extremity. This is fairly typical of the waters through which Cook was now making his way.

[3] Kotu is itself surrounded by a reef: there is a clear channel between it and the reef to the westward, Hakau Kopau, but it is only a mile wide—not much room for manoeuvring.

the sw till 11 oclock when finding we got nothing to windward and 122 being apprehinsive of losing the islands with so many of the Natives [133] on board, I tacked and stood back intending to wait till some more [648] favourable oppertunity. We did but just fetch in with Fodua, between which and Ogodoo we spent the night under reefed Topsails and Fore sail, the Wind blew fresh and by squals with rain and we were not without apprehensions of danger. I kept the deck till 12 oclock when I left it to the Master, with such direction as I thought would keep the Ships clear of the dangers that lay round us; but after making a trip to the north and standing back again to the south the Ship, by a small shift of the wind fetched farther to windward than JUNE Sun. 1 was expected; by this means she was very near runing plump upon a low Sandy isle surrounded by breakers.[1] It happened very fortunately that the people had just been turned up to put the Ship about and the most of them at their stations, so that the necessary movements were not only executed with judgement but with alertness and this alone saved the Ship. The Discovery being a stern was out of danger. Such resks as thise are the unavoidable Companions of the Man who goes on Discoveries.[2] This circumstance frigh[t]ened our passengers so much that they express'd a stong desire to get a shore, as soon as it was light I hoisted out a boat and sent them to Ogodoo, and ordered the officer in the boat, after landing them to Sound along the reef which spits off from that island, for Anchorage, for I was as tired

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[1] *I kept deck . .. breakers:* at this point in the printed text, which follows Cook pretty closely, except for giving the name of the sandy isle, 'Pootoo Pootooa', Bligh has a queer outbreak of vanity: 'In Capt. Cook's Journal it stands thus "Mr. Bligh & myself before dark having determined on the proper method to keep clear of the Shoals I kept the first watch to be relieved by him at 12 O'Clock, & left him with the charge, but after making a few boards to the northward the ship &c &c"—& then follows as above engross'd.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 270. It is very probable that Cook discussed the matter with his master, but how is Bligh so confident about what Cook wrote in his journal? King writes, '. . . the Master whose watch it was (one of the officers being sick) immediately threw all aback & afterwards wore . . . otherwise we might have ended our discoveries here.'—Putuputua is a sandy cay twelve feet high, on a reef three miles NE of Kotu. It is the most northerly of [133] the Kotu group, and about as dangerous an obstacle for a sailing ship on a squally rainy night as can well be imagined.

[2] The observation contained in this last sentence may be taken as pretty representative of Cook's philosophy of exploration, once he had made all due preparations. It is a sigh rather than a groan. There is more alarm expressed in two of the *Discovery* records. 'Being obliged to tack almost every half hour on accou[n]t of the Reefs & Islands, we were obliged to keep All Hands upon Deck during the Night; for we were very near the Reefs before we could see the Breakers; & consequently had but just time to get the Ship about,—which rendered it alarming & disagreeable.'—Bayly T.—'At 3 [AM] saw the Resolution. At ½ past she began to fire being in danger they where so near a Reef that lays off from one tree Island that they had neither room to stay or weer but from being Exceedingly quick in throwing all aback Just clear'd the Reef—from dark last night till 3 oclock this Morning our Situation was Extreamly dangerous rendered so from the darkness of the weather and the short distance we had to ply in And had it not cleard up at the time it did there is all the reason in the world to suppose that boath the Ships whould have been on shore. . . .' —Portlock, 1 June. Portlock seems original in his name 'one tree Island'; Putuputua has [137] only a few bushes growing on it, but it may have had a solitary coconut in 1777.

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122 with beating about amongst the islands and shoals as they were and
determined to get to an anchor some where or a nother if possible.
[133] While the boat was absent, we attempted to turn the Ships through
the Channel, between the Sandy isle and the reef of Ogodoo, in expectation
of finding a moderate dept[h] of Water behind them to
anchor in, but meeting with a Tide or Current against us were
obliged to desist and anchor in 50 fm water with the Sandy isle
[648] bearing EBN one mile distant. We lay here till the 4th during this
[649] time we were several times visited by Fattafee the King, Toobow-
eitoa, and people from the neighbouring island[s] came off to trade
[499] notwithstanding it blew very fresh most of the time. The Master was
sent to sound the Channels between the islands to the Eastward and
I landed on Ogodoo to examine the island and take a View of the
134 Shoals or reefs about it. I walked all over it, the north part is low
land, the soil composed of Sand and Mould. The South end is ele-
[133] vated and the soil a red sandy clay without a stone, every part is
[311] cultivated and there are some pools of dirty Water on the low ground
[312] and all of them more or less brackish.

Wed. 4 On the 4th at 7 AM we wieghed with a fresh gale at ESE and stood
Thur. 5 away for Anamocka where we anchored the next Morning nearly in
122 the same place where we lay before. I landed soon after and found
the Inhabitants very busy in their plantations diging up yams to
499 bring to Market, they were now in the greatest perfection and we
procured a good quantity for pieces of iron. Before I returned on
241 board I visited the several places where Mellon seeds & plants
199 had been planted and had the Mortification to find that the most
of them were distroyed by a small ant,[1] but [the] Pine-aple plants
Frid. 6 I had planted were in a flourishing state. About noon the next day
164 Feenough arrived from Vaughwaugh he told us that several Canoes
122 laden with hogs &ca that sailed with him from the island were
lost in the late blowing weather and every soul in them perished;
but as this melancholy tale seemed not to affect any one of the
Indians, I did not beleive it; yet it might be, for it had blown hard
for these parts, in so much that the King and others at Ogodoo durst
not venture to Sea when we did, but desired I would wait for them
at Anamocka which was the reason of my anchoring there the second
Sat. 7 time. The following Morning the King and all those who had been
643 wind bound with him arrived, I was at this time a shore with Fee-
648 nough and left him to visit the other; who I found seting with a few
634 people before him, but as several came to pay their court to him

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[136] [1] The ant in Tonga is called *lo*; but there are more than one species, so that it is impossible to identify the criminal.

the circle increased pretty fast. At length Feenough came and took 643
his seat amongst the rest, some little conversation passed between 648
these two Cheifs which none of us understood, nor was we satisfied
with Omai's interpretation of it,[1] we were however by this time fully 634
satisfied who was the greater man of the two. I took them both
aboard to dinner but only Fattafee sat at table, Feenough made his [644]
Obiesance in the usual way and retired out of the Cabbin; this confirmed [576]
what the King had before told us, that Feenough could
neither eat nor drink in his presence.[2] [264]

SUNDAY 8*th*. At 8 oclock the next Morning we wieghed and steered 648
for Tongataba having a gentle breeze at NE and about fourteen or
fifteen sailing vessels in company every one of which considerably out [122]
run us.[3] Feenough was to have taken a passage with us in the Ship but [634]
prefered his own Canoe and put two men on board to conduct us to
the best anchorage. We steered SBW by compass the Course the
Canoes steered; at 5 oclock in the evening we saw two small islands
bearing west about 4 leagues distant. Our pilots called the one Hunga 122
happi and the other Hunga Tonga;[4] they lay in the Latitude of 20°36′
and 10 or 11 leagues from the west point of Anamocka in the direction [131]
of [S 46° West].[5] We continued the same Course till 2 AM the next
morning, when seeing some lights ahead and not knowing whither
they were on shore or on board the Canoes, we hauled the Wind and
made a short trip each way till day-break, when we resumed our Mon. 9
course to the SBW. And presently after saw several small islands a
head and Middleburg and Tongatabu beyond them; the depth of 122
water at this time was 25 fathom over a bottom of broken coral and 133
sand. The depth of water gradually decreased as we drew near the
isles which lie ranged along the NE side of Tongatabu. By the direction
of our Pilots we steered for the middle of the island and for
the widest space between the small islands with our boats ahead

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[1] 'Omai was still too much hurt at having taken a name that was not the highest, to interpret faithfully. . . .'—King.

[2] No inferior could eat or drink in the presence of his superior. We have in another entry for this date a little sign of shipboard friction which is interesting: 'I went on Shore with my Astronomical Quad^t & the watch & observed equal altitudes of the Sun in order to determin its Error from mean time; & returned on board again in the Evening very safe, with the watch.—(after the most emminent Danger, & Difficulty of preserving the watch, owing [to] the Pride & obstinacy of our First Lieut^t M^r Burney.)'—Bayly T. Burney may have been rather a trial to Bayly (cf. II, p. 155, n.), and perhaps Bayly was a bit too solemnly professional for Burney.

[3] 'These Canoes rund us nearly out of sight before the evening, they sail about 3 Miles to our two, in light winds. They carry about 50 People (& their luggage) in general. But are capable of carryin[g] as many more.'—Bayly T. [501]

[4] Hunga Ha'apai and Hunga Tonga, both high islands, about a mile apart. *Hunga*: 'turned towards'. They are about 31 miles northward of Niu Aunofo, the most northerly point of Tongatapu. Cook's course lay well to the east of them.

[5] These figures are a later insertion in the MS, probably by King.

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122 sounding.[1] Insencibly were we drawn upon a large flat on which lay 133 innumerable coral rocks of different depths below the surface of the water. It was not possible to keep the ship clear of them, all our care and attention did not prevent her from striking on one of them, nor did the Discovery who followed us escape any better, fortunately neither of them stuck fast nor received any damage.[2] We could not return without increasing the danger, as we had come in before the wind, nor could we anchor but with the certainty of having our cables instantly cut in two by the rocks. We had no other resourse but to proceed, to which we were incouraged not only by being told, but seeing deep water between us and the shore; but to be better informed the moment we found a spot where we could drop the anchor clear of rocks we came to and sent away the Masters with the boats to sound. Soon after we had anchored which was about noon several of the Inhabitants came off in their canoes to the Ships. These as also our two Pilots assured us we should find deep water farther in and a bottom free from rocks, and so it proved for about 4 PM the boats made the signal for having found good anchorage—upon which we weighed and stood in till dark, then anchored in 9 fathom a fine clear sandy bottom. During the night had some showers of rain, but towards the morning the wind shifted to the South & SE and brought Tues. 10 on fair weather. At day break weighed and worked in for the shore, meeting with no obstruction but what was vissible and easily avoided. 648 While we were plying up to the harbour the Natives directed us to, 643 the King kept sailing round us in his Canoe, there were at the same time a great many small Canoes about the Ships; two who could not [164] get out of his way he run quite over with as little concern as if they had been bits of wood. Amongst many others who came on board the Ship was Otaga who was so usefull to me when I was here last voyage,[3] and one Toobough who at the same time was the Friend

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[1] That is, they were coming down through the Lahi passage, sown with coral rocks. A channel was swept through it 165 years later, in 1942.

[2] 'We found this a most confounded navigation. The Bottom, which we too clearly saw a continued bed of Coral Rock, very uneven, with here and there a mischievous rascal towering his head above the rest, almost to the waters Edge; most providentially we had exceeding smooth Water, with just such a breeze as we cou'd wish, and of course took every precaution we cou'd suggest, such as Boats a head, a good look out &c; but these lofty Gentry's heads were so small, that 'twas great odds but you miss'd them with the Lead in the Boats, be as cautious as you wou'd. About 10 we gave one of them a rub, but fortunately receiv'd not the least damage.'—Clerke. 'At 10 [AM] the water in places shoal and the passage very doubtfull struck on a patch of Coral Rock, set Top Gallant sails and fore Sail and force'd her over without any damage, Just Ab^t the same time the Resolution struck but without damage. . . . it was very Lucky it happened to be very near high water At the time the ships struck or in all probility they might have stuck and receiv'd material damage.'—Portlock.

[3] Siale'atsongo, the grandson of a great chief, Mumui, who was to become 18th Tu'i Kanokupolu. Both references to him in *II*, pp. lxxv and 249, n. 5, are badly confused.

of Captain Furneaux.[1] They brought each of them a hog and some 648 yams as a testimony of their friendship and I was not wanting on my 643 part in making them a sutable return.

At length about 2 PM we arrived at our intended Station, being a [431] very snug place formed by the shore of Tongatabu on the SE and two 122 small islands on the East and NE: here we anchored in 10 fathom Water over a bottom of owsey sand, distant from the shore one third of a mile.[2] Soon after we had Anchored, I landed accompaned by 648 Omai and some of the Officers, we found the King waiting for us on the beach, ready to conduct us to a small neat house, situated a little [643] within the skirts of the woods with a fine large area before it; this [342] house the Cheif told me was at my service during my stay and a better situation we could not wish for. We had not been long in the house before a pretty large circle of people were assembled before us and seated on the Area. A root of the Cava plant was brought and [276] laid down before the King, he ordered it to be split into pieces and given to several people, men and women, to chew and a bowl of [574] liquer was presently prepared. In the mean time a baked hog and two baskets of baked yams were brought and afterwards divided into [264] ten portions, each of these portions were given to certain people present but how many each was intend[ed] for I could not tell, one was sent to the Kings brother and one remained which I judged was for himself as it was a choise bit. The liquor was next served out, but 648 the King seemed to give no directions about it;[3] the first cup was 643 brought to him, he ordered it to be give[n] to one who sat near him, the second was brought him which he kept, the third was brought 276 me, I gave it to Omai for their manner of brewing had quenched my 574 thirst;[4] the rest was served out to different people by direction of the

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[1] We have no prior record of this friendship: the Tupou's are becoming rather confusing. Tupoulahi was the name of the last Tu'i Kanokupolu, and as Gifford writes (*Tongan Society*, p. 88), 'The frequent use of the name Tupou for the Tui Kanokupolu's relatives makes identification as difficult as with the Tui Tonga's relatives with whom the name Fatafehi was equally common'.

[2] The anchorage was in the harbour of Nuku'alofa, the present capital town of Tonga. Cook's description points to a spot in its eastern bight, almost two miles east of the existing pier. The 'shore of Tongatabu on the SE' was the arm of land, the northern side of the lagoon, which ends in the point called Holeva ('Observatory Point' on the engraved chart)—no doubt the 'uncultivated point' mentioned as 'our station', pp. 134–5 below—and the detached island Nukunuku. The small island to the east was 'Oneata, though it is not the only islet in that direction; that to the north-east was Pangaimotu ('Pangymaudoo' in Cook's paragraph below). This position is still recommended as the best for shelter and holding ground in the summer months, which is also the hurricane season; so the Tongans who directed Cook knew what they were doing, even though the month was June.

[3] Because he did not need to—except as Cook goes on to note his first direction as to a recipient—the ceremony being so much one of settled ritual. How strict the ritual was, at a formal kava-ceremony, and all its details, may be found from a study of the long description in Mariner, II, pp. 150–67.

[4] But, as Mariner points out, the Tongans were an exceedingly clean race, and only [123]

648 man who had the management of it. A Cup was carri'd to the Kings
643 Brother, with which and his victuals he retired, as did some others
also, and the reason was they could neither eat nor drink before the
276 King; but there were others of a much inferior rank who did both.[1]
574 Soon after the most of them retired, each carrying with them what
victuals he or she had not eat. It is necessary to observe that not one
648 4th part of the Company had either Victuals or drink and some had
643 one and not the other: those who had the Victuals I took to be of the
276 Kings household. The Servants who served out the Victuals and
574 Cava always delivered it out of their hand siting, not only to the
King but to every other person. And altho this was the first time of
644 our landing, and a great many people present who had never seen
264 us before yet no one was troublesome, but the greatest good order
was Observed throughout the whole. Before I went on board I was
648 shewed some pools or holes of fresh Water as they were pleased to
call it; the Water in one was indeed tolerable but it was some distance
Wed. 11 in land and but little of it. The next morning I went over to the
312 island of *Pangymaudoo*,[2] near which we lay, to look for Water being
told there was some there; I was conducted to a small Pool that was
tolerable and had it cleaned out and here it was we watered the
122 Ships. As I intended to make some stay here I got all the Cattle a
shore,[3] a party of Marines with the officer for a guard, set up the
observatory and Mr King resided a shore to attend the observations
and superintend the several works carrying on there, for I had the

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[648] [643] [276] [574] [129] young persons who had clean mouths and good teeth were allowed to take part in the chewing. This was not a prolonged process, and the masticated root was kept dry. What Cook calls 'brewing' was really infusing. He was not always put off by the sight of the process. 'Captn Cook often drank of it, holding it as an argument that seamen should eat & drink every thing that came in their way, some of our Officers follow'd ye good example set them, I must acknowledge either my want of taste or politeness for I could by no means be brought to taste it in a mixture, contenting myself with taking it in ye manner of ye slaves, the least piece put in ye mouth fills it with an instant glowing heat, it is nearest in taste to ye horse-radish of any thing I can recollect.'—Williamson, 17 July.

[1] '... what at first appears singular, is, that although neither his brother nor any great chiefs can eat before him, yet his own attendants do & sometimes with him, this cannot be suppos'd to degrade his dignity & lessen it, as they are not exalted sufficiently to claim any [563] libertys he does not chuse to grant.'—King, 7 June. The reason for this exception to the general eating rule was probably that those who were favoured were, as Cook says below, 'of the Kings household'—that is, they were *matapule*, and also *matapule* of foreign origin. The inconvenience of the eating *tapu*, and other varieties of *tapu*, carried to an extreme of consistency with personal attendants, might well be very great, but one who was rankless in any Tongan connection was exempt. Thus Hoakai (Samoan Soakai?) 'a matapule to the Tui Tonga, was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan might do' (Gifford, p. 141).

[131] [2] Pangaimotu. It is a small island, less than a square mile in area and 15 feet high, 2¼ miles north-east of Nuku'alofa.

[825] [3] '... they were much surprisd at our Cattle and called them Boaha,la,hi; which signifies, large Hogs. ...'—Gilbert. The Tongan expression is *puaka lahi*. I have been told that the Tongans still refer to cattle and other livestock as 'Cook's pigs'.

sails a shore to repair and a party cuting wood for fuel and Plank for 122
the use of the Ship. The gunners of both Ships were ordered a shore
to traffick with the natives, who thronged from all parts with Hogs, 439
yams, & cocoanuts &c^a so that our little post was like a fair and the
Ships so thronged that we had hardly room to stir on the decks.

Feenough had taken up his residence near us, but he was no longer 648
the acting man, we however found him to be a man of consequence
and property and still continued to make us presents of Hogs &c^a. 634
As to the King scarce a day pa[s]t that had not some thing con- 431
siderable from him. We heard of other great men which we had not
yet seen particularly one *Mariwaggy*,[1] who we understood was Fattafee 648
Polaho's Father and the first man on the island, but that he was an 643
old man and would not visit us; some even hinted, that he was too [431]
great a man to be seen by us, at least so Omai interpreted it.[2] The
account they gave of this Chief made me very desirious of seeing him
and I at last prevailed on Fattafee the King to accompany me the
next Morning to the place of his residence. Accordingly we set out Thur. 12
pretty early, accompaned by Captain Clerke in his own boat, Omai
and some of the officers. We proceeded round and to the Eastward
of the isles that forms the harbour and then entered a large inlet up
which we rowed about one league and then landed near to the resi-
dence of this great man.[3] We had no sooner landed then we were told
that he was gone to the Ships. I suspected this was not true, but
that he was gone out of the way in order not to be seen by us,as
some had suggested. Pequed at being thus disapointed, after a short
stay I returned on board, when we found Mariwaggy had not been
nor was he expected. It however afterwards appeared that Omai [124]

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[1] Maealiuaki.

[2] Maealiuaki was certainly Paulaho's 'classificatory father': the term *tamai*, father, would include all paternal male affines. He was indeed a very great man, and in a secular sense certainly the 'first man on the island', and indeed in all Tonga; for having been Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua (the fourteenth and last of the succession), hence deriving great prestige and privilege, he became Tu'i Kanokupolu (the eighth of that line)—and it was the Tu'i Kanokupolu who was the effective principal ruler of the group. Cf. II, p. lxxv. A venerable figure, 'grey with age', as Cook notes below, he was to die later in this year 1777.

[3] The place of this landing is traditionally remembered. Cook had to take the same cir- [487]
cuitous route anyone must take nowadays from the Nuku'alofa jetty—round the islands and into the lagoon through an extraordinary mass of coral reefs. The lagoon forms two arms. Just off the present road, which runs close to the lagoon, a little south-west of the large village of Mu'a, is a very little cove, part of a larger wide cove at the bottom of the eastern arm of Mu'a inlet; and here, it is said, Cook stepped ashore. He could hardly do
so now. Mangroves have crept all round and the shore is very muddy; trees hang over the [137]
water and the coral of the bank has fallen away in large pieces; a few yards from the water
a huge banyan (*Ficus obliqua*) marks the scene. The place is called Alaki, though the village [133]
of Alaki has been moved a mile or so to the south. It is possible, however, that tradition is
mistaken in being quite so precise, because the text (p. 138 below) refers to the village as [361]
'Moa' or Mu'a; ancient Mu'a, however, was very near, and it is even possible that Alaki village did not then exist.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127]

648 landing I found the King in the house along with our people. I no
643 sooner got to him than he presented me with a large Hog and a
quantity of yams. About the dusk of the evening, a number of men
[431] came and sat down in a round group and began to sing to the Musick
of Bamboo drums which were in the middle of them, there were three
648 long ones and two short, with these they struck the ground end ways
as before discribed; there were two others which lay on the ground
643 side by side, one of them was split or shivered, on these a man kept
533 beating with two smal[l] sticks. They sung three Songs while I stayed
and I left them at it and was told they continued till 10 o'clock; they
[373] burnt the leaves of the Wharra palm for a light, I have never seen
them make use of any thing else.

● 122 MONDAY 16*th*. The 16th in the Morning after visiting the several
workmen a shore, Mr Gore and I took a walk into the Country, the
only thing we met with worthy of note was the meeting at different
places with women going through the several processes of making
cloth, which I shall describe in a nother place. In our return we met
648 with Feenough and took him and another young Chief on board to
634 dinner, but when dinner came on table niether would eat a bit,
271 saying they were Tabu Avy;[1] but after enquiring how the Victuals
had been dressed, and finding no Water had been used in Cooking a
pig and yams, they both sit down and eat very heartily, and on being
assured there was no water in the Wine they drank of it also. From
this we conjectured that on some account or a nother they were at
this time forbid to use Water, or what was more probable, they did
not like the Water we made use of, it being taken up out of one of
their bathing places. This was not the only time we met with people
that were Tabu Avy but on what account we never could tell with
any degree of certainty.

643 wife'. The 'great royal wife', mother of Fuanunuiava, was Tupoumoheofo, daughter of Tupoulahi, elder brother (now dead) of Maealiuaki; so that Maealiuaki was in English
644 terminology 'the Prince's' great-uncle, not his grandfather—but would still have been regarded by him as *kui*, grandfather. Maealiuaki had still another link with the Tu'i Tonga: his sister was the second 'great royal wife' of Paulaho's half-brother Ma'ulupekotofa. Thus, as (in English terms again), brother-in-law of the Tu'i Tonga's father, the previous Tu'i Tonga, father-in-law of the Tu'i Tonga, uncle of one of the Tu'i Tonga's wives and of his half-brother, and great-uncle of his son—as well as being Tu'i Kanokupolu—he had a formidable position. Maealiuaki died in this year, 1777, when precisely we do not know, and was succeeded as Tu'i Kanokupolu by his nephew (son of Tupoulahi), Tu'i Halafatai. This uncertainty is probably the reason why the latter is sometimes, it seems quite wrongly, said to have been the ruler at the time of Cook's visit.

[1] There is no doubt that Cook's second conjecture about Finau and his friend was the right one. Water from a bathing place could not possibly be used to cook or mix with food:
[783] 'Tabu Avy' is *tapu a vai*, *tapu* because of the water. As for the other people, water might be *tapu* for any number of reasons; but water, it must be noted, was also a 'cleansing agent' for doing away with some other sorts of *tapu*.

King, he not knowing what step I should take and fearing the worst, 648
went off early the next morning and also Feenough so that we had Mon. 23
not a Cheif of any authority left with us. I was very much displeased 685
at this and gave Omai a reprimand for meddling in it and put him 643
upon his mital to bring his friend Feenough back, which he did 634
towards the evening, but not before he was well assured I should take no step to oblige them to return what had been taken from the gentlemen. This declaration of mine brought back the King the day after. Both these Chiefs very justly observeyed to me, that when any of my people wanted to go into the Country they ought to be made acquainted with it, when they would send people along with them and then they would be answerable for their safety. And I am convinced from experience, that by observing this method a man and his property is as safe amongst these islanders as most other parts of the World. Notwithstanding I gave myself no trouble about these things, the most of them, through Feenough were got back except one Musket and a few other things of less Value. By this time also we had got the Turkey Cock and most of the tools &c^a^ which had been stolen from our workmen.[1]

WEDNESDAY 25*th*. On the 25th two boats which I had sent to looke 122
for a Channel by which we could get to sea returned, the Masters
who commanded them, reported that the Channel to the North by [133]
which we came in was highly dangerous, being full of Coral rocks from the one side to the other, but that to the Eastward was a very good Channel,[2] but as it was very much contracted in one place by the islands it would require a leading wind to get through it, that is a westerly wind which we had found did not often blow. We had now compleated the Ships with Wood and Water, and finished the repairs of our sails, and had little more to expect from the Inhabitants.[3] However as an Eclipse of the Sun was to happen on the 5th of the next Month, I resolved to wait till that time was elapsed to have a chance of Observing it.

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[1] Williamson and Bligh, among others, had gone out, meaning to be away no more than one day; they crossed the lagoon and made a large circuit round to the west and back. Both Williamson and Bligh lost their guns, and Williamson, after failing to get his returned, made malicious remarks in his journal about Cook. It was very difficult to instil prudence into the complete companies of two ships. For Williamson's account, see pp. 1342–3 below.

[2] The Piha passage of the modern chart.

[3] 'As I have now a vast number of Hogs on board, & the Sea agreeing exceeding ill with their Constitutions, (for they die like rotten Sheep as soon as you get to Sea and begin to dance a bit) to prevent which I kill'd and salted the major part of them. This seems a happy peculiarity to our Isle; there is scarcely a Creature to which it gives Existence but you may transport to its Antipodes, some we cou'd mention wou'd grow fat by the way.' —Clerke, 23 June.

122 Thur. 26 Having now some leasure time before me, a party of us accompaned by Fattafee the King, set out early the next Morning in a boat for [Moa] the Village where the King and other great men usually 226 reside.[1] As we went up the Inlet we met with the Prince with fourteen Canoes fishing; in each canoe was a triangler net extended between two poles, at the lower angle was a Cod to receive and secure the fish, they had already caught some fine Mullet, and put about a dozen into my boat. I desired to see their method of fishing, this they readily complied with, a Shoal of fish was supposed to be on one of the banks which they in a instant inclosed in a long net like a Seine or set net, this the fishers surrounded with the triangler nets in their hands with which they scooped the fish out of the other, or caught them as they attempted to leap over it. They shewed us the method by throwing in some of the fish they had before caught, for at this time there was none to inclose in the net so that we could not see the certainty of the method, but it appeared to be a very sure method. 648 Leaving the Prince and his fishery we proceeded and soon arrived at the Village. As soon as we landed the King desired Omai to tell me 643 that I need be under no apprehensions for the boat or any thing in her, for not a single thing would be touched by any one whatever and so it proved. We were immediately conducted to one of his houses not far from the one we had been at before, but this tho pretty large, seemed to be a private one and was situated within a plantation. The King took his seat at one end of the house and the people, who came to visit him, sat down as they entered in a simicircle at the other. The first thing done was to make a bowl of Cava and order some yams to be baked for us, while these were cooking Omai and I accompaned by one of the Kings servants Walked out to view 764 the place. The only thing we met with worth mentioning was a larg[e] Affi-a-too-ca[2] or burying ground belonging to the King, a 532 Wall of stone inclosed three seperate Mounts and on each of these Mounts stood a house, under which as we were told, the dead are buried, but there was nothing of this sort to be seen; the floors of these houses were covered with loose fine pebbles and like wise the

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[361] [644] [344] [164]

[1] Mu'a, anciently Lapaha. *Mu'a* means 'first': it was the first, the capital, village, and the seat of Tongan government for six centuries. The three really great men who resided there were the Tu'i Tonga, in the area called Lapaha; the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua in that, much smaller, called Moalunga; and the Tu'i Kanokupolu, in that, larger again, called Tatakamotonga. The Tu'i Tonga had his great *mala'e* there, and there were the *langi* or royal tombs; as also the burial places of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, but not of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. McKern has a full description in his *Tongan Archaeology*, pp. 92–101, with an interesting plan, p. 95.—The name, in square brackets, in the text has been supplied by Douglas in a large space left for it by Cook, and is supplied similarly below as M[oa] and [Mooa].

[2] *fa'itoka*.

afterwards more came droping in to the number of a hundred or upwards, 765
mostly old men and all dressed as above discribed. As soon as
they were all come in a large root of Cava, brought by one of the 643
King's Servants was produced, and a bowl which held at least four
or five gallons; several person went to chewing the root and this bowl 765
was made brim full of the liquor, and several Cups were made of the 643
Plantain leafe while it was preparing.

The first Cup was given to the King which he ordered to be given 276
to another, the Second was brought him which he drank and the 574
third was offered me. Afterwards as each Cup was fill'd the person [4|5]
who filled it asked who was to have it, and a nother named the person
and to that person it was carried; thus they continued till the bowl
was emptied which was before half the Company was served, yet no
one seemed dissatisfied. As the bowl grew low the person who had the
desposal of the liquor seemed rather at a loss to whom he should send
the Cups of liquor to and frequently consulted those who sat near
him. About half a dozen cups served the whole company, each as it
was emptied was thrown down upon the ground where the waiters
picked up and carried it to be filled again. They sat as usual with a
great deal of gravity and hardly spoke to each other the whole time.
All this time did we wait with some impatience, in expectation of
every minute seeing the Mourning ceremony begin; when soon after
the Cava was drank out, to our great surprise and disapointment they
all rose up and dispersed and the King told us he was ready to attend
us to the Ships. If this was a Mourning ceremony it was a strange
one, perhaps it was the second, third or fourth Mourning, or what
was not very uncommon Omai might have misunderstood them; for
excepting the ceremony of the green branch, there was nothing in
this meeting but what we saw every day.[1] But be what it would as soon 122
as it was over we set out to return to the Ship. As we rowed down the
Lagoon or inlet we met with two canoes coming in from fishing, the 425
Chief ordered them to be called along side and took from them every 643
fish and shell they had got, he afterward brought to two others and
searched them but they had nothing; why this was done I cannot
say as we had plenty of Victuals in the boat; some of this fish he
after wards gave to me and some his servants sold on board the ship.
As we proceeded down the Inlet we overtook a large sailing Canoe, 648
every person in her that were upon their legs when we came up
with her sat down till we were past, even the Man who steered,
altho he could not manage the helm in any other position but standing.
Having been informed that there was some good Water on 312

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[1] It was in fact the mourning kava ceremony.

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[1777]

312 [Onnevy][1] an island which lays before the Inlet and on the north side of the Eastern Channel, I landed on the island in order to taste it as it had been greatly extoled by all on whom we enquired, but we found it as brakish as most we had met with; it was in little holes which had been dug in the sand for the purpose about a hundred yards from the sea, and was perhaps the worse for being at this time 133 high-water. After leaving this island, took a View of a curious Coral rock, which was elevated about 10 or 12 feet above the surface of the 137 Sea that surrounded it, its base was not above one third the circumference if its sumit, which last I judged to be about one hundred feet; there grew upon it the Wharra or Palm[2] and Etoa tree[3] 648 and a species of firn and grass. When we got on board I found every thing had been quiet during my absence, not a theft had been com- 685 mited of which Feenough who undertook the Management of his 634 Countrymen piqued himself not a little; this shews what power the Chiefs have when they have will to execute it, but this we were seldom to expect sence whatever was stolen from us generally if not 648 always went to them. This good order was of short duration for the Sat. 28 next day, six or eight Indians asulted some of our people who were sawing plank, they were fired upon by the Sentry and one was supposed to be wounded, and three others were taken, these I kept confined till night and did not then dismiss them without punishment, after this they behaved with a little more circumspection and gave us much less trouble. This change was certainly occasioned by the Man being wounded, for before they had only seen the effect of fire arms but now they had felt it. At first I thought the man had only been wounded with small shot; the repeated insolence of the Natives had induced me to load the Sentries Muskets with small shot and authorized them to fire on particular occasions; but Mr King and Dr Anderson being in the Country, met with this man, and found he was wounded with a Musket ball;[4] the wound was left to Nature, which on many occasions is the best surgeon, it was not dangerous and the man was in a fair way of recovering. I could never find out how this Musket came to be charged with ball, there were enough ready to 122 swear that it was only charged with small shot.

JULY Wed. 2 Nothing of note happened till the 2nd of July, when on looking at the Micrometer belonging to the Board of Longitude, found some of

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[1] 'Onevai. This name is substituted (by King?) for a deleted 'Pangimodoo', in writing which Cook obviously made a slip.

[2] Fala (Tahitian *fara*) or pandanus. It was often called the screw-palm or screw-pine, though the origin of 'screw' in this sense is unknown; and 'screw' is probably Cook's missing word.

[3] Toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[4] See King, p. 912, n. below.

the rack work broke and the instrument useless till repaired which 122
there was not time to do before the day of the Eclipse. Got on board all the Cattle Poultry &c^a^ except such as were distined to remain. I intended to have left a Turkey Cock and Hen, but having only two of each left, one of the hens through the ignorance of one of my people was strangled and died on the spot. I brought three Turkey hens to these islands, one was killed as above mentioned and the other by a useless dog belonging to one of the officers. These two accidents put it out of my power to leave of these birds here and at the same time carry a breed to Otaheite where they were first intended. I was sorry afterwards that I did not leave those that remained, as they would have been of more real Value here than at Otaheite and the people I am perswaided would have taken more pains to have multiplied them. The next day we took up our anchors and moved the Ships Thurs. 3
behind Pangimaudoo, in order to take the advantage of the first favourable wind to get through the Narrows.[1]

At dinner to day the King who was one of the company tooke uncommon notice of the plates, this occasioned me to make him an offer 648
of one, either of pewter or stone,[2] he chused the first and then began to 643
tell us the several uses he would apply it to, two of them are so extraordinary 177
that I cannot pass them over. He said that whenever he
went to Visit any of the other islands, he would leave this plate behind 415
him for the people to reverence in the same manner as they do himself,[3] he was asked what was used for this purpose before he got this plate, he answered a Wooden bowl in which he washed his hands.[4]
The other extraordinary use he meant to apply it to was to discover a 643
thief: he said when any thing was Stolen and the thief could not be 648
found, the people were all assembled together before him, when he 177
washed his hands in Water in this Vessel, after which it was cleaned 415
and then the people came one after a nother and touched it in the 685
same manner as they do his foot when they pay him Obeisance; if the 695
Guilty person did it, he died immidiately on the spot, not by violence

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[1] The entrance into the Piha passage, 'barely 1½ cables [i.e. 330 yards] wide'. The name has persisted.

[2] i.e. stoneware.

[3] It was to have another, closely related, use of 'reverence'. 'If any one is tabooed by touching the person or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.'—Mariner, II, p. 188. The bowl used for this was known as the *kae fakafaonga* or *fafaonga*, the 'carrier of immunity'. [784] [783]

[4] According to some, this bowl was given to the thirty-first Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua III, by Tasman on his visit in 1643.

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643 but by the hand of Providence, and the consequence of a refusal was
648 a proof of his being guilty.[1]

177 SATURDAY 5*th*. In the Morning of the 5th the day of the Eclipse, the
Weather was dark and Cloudy with showers of rain so that we had
415 little hopes of an observation. About 9 oclock the Sun broke out at
685 intervals for about half an hour after which it was wholy obscured till
within a Minute or two of the begining of the Eclipse. Every one was
695 at their Telescopes viz. M^r Bailey, M^r King, Captain Clerke, M^r
122 Bligh and my self; I lost the observation by not having a dark glass
at hand sutable to the Clouds that were continually passing over the
Sun[2] and M^r Bligh had not got the sun into the field of his Telescope,
so that it was only observed by the other three gentlemen and by
them with an uncertainty of severl secconds, and was as follows, viz.

by M^r Bailey at	11^h..46'..23½"	Apparent time
M^r King	11 ..46 ..28	
C. Clerke	11 ..47 ..05	

M^r Bailey and M^r King observed with the Acromatic Telescopes belonging to the Boa[r]d of Longitude of equal Magnifying powers, Capt^n Clerke obser[v]ed with one of the Reflectors. The Sun appeared at intervals till about the middle of the Eclipse, after which it was seen no more during the day, so that the end was not observed; it was of little consequence sence the Longitude was more than sufficiently determined independant of this Eclipse, by Lunar observations as will be mentioned hereafter. As soon as we knew the Eclipse
to be over, pa[c]ked up the Instruments, took down the observatorys
231 and sent every thing aboard we had a shore. And as no one had taken
the least notice or care of the three sheep I gave to Mariwaggy I to[ok]
177 them aboard also lest after we were gone the Dogs should destroy
them; for altho' they had not a dog on the Island in 1773 when I
first visited it, they have now got a good many, partly from the breed
I left and partly from some they got from a neighbouring island
c[a]lled *Fidgee*.[3] The dogs however at present had not extended

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[755]

[1] The royal bowl, however, was versatile. Common people could be cured of sickness by having the stomach rubbed with it.

[2] '. . . the tents and observatories were continued ashore on account of the eclipse of the Sun, July 5th—and here we hoped to gain some credit by displaying our skill in prophecy, as Columbus had on a similar occasion, but these expectations were defeated by the cloudiness of the weather which rendered the eclipse visible only at times through a Telescope.'—Burney.

[3] Fiji, from Viti, the main island of the group.—'. . . there is little fear of the Goats, as they breed fast & require no care, & one of the she goats was with young; these things have also an advantage, that there are very few dogs; we imagin'd for a long time, that they had none, but what bred from a dog & a bitch left by C. Cook the last Voyage, but the great age of some we saw, made us against our inclinations give up the honour of supplying them with this domestic animal; & believe them that the first dogs they had

farther than this island, nor were they in the possession of any but 231
the Chiefs. 177

We were now ready to sail, but as the wind was easterly we had Sun. 6
not day light to turn through the narrows with neither the Morning 122
nor evening flood, the one falling out too early and the other too Mon. 7
late; so that without a leading wind we were under a necessity of
waiting two or three days. I took the oppertunity of this delay to
be present at a public ceremony, which was to be on the 8th and to 651
which the King had invited us. He and all the people of note left us 796
on the 7th and repaired to M[oa] where it was to be performed. A
party of us in two boats followed them the next morning and got to Tues. 8
the place about 8 oclock. We found the King with a large Circle
before him within a small dirty inclosure, such a one as I thought had
not been in the whole place. They were as usual making a large bowl [276]
of Cava, and as this was no liquer for us, we walked out to visit some
of our Friends and to see what was going forward without. About 10
oclock the people began to assemble in a large Area which is before
the great house we were conducted to the first time we visited this
Village.[1] At the end of a lane opening into this place were some Men
with Spears & Clubs in their hands, some of them stood up and con-

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were from an Island call'd Fidgee; they are yet great curiosities & only in the possession of the Chiefs.'—*King*, 20 June.

[1] The ceremony which Cook goes on to describe is one for which Anderson picked up 651
the name 'natche'—Mariner's 'inachi', modern *'inasi*. Writers after Cook, starting with
Mariner, are unanimous that what Cook witnessed was the great *'inasi* ceremony also 796
described by Mariner (II, pp. 168–73), a sort of harvest festival. The word, says Mariner,
meant literally 'a share or portion of any thing that is to be, or has been distributed out; 643
but, in the sense here mentioned, it means that portion of the fruits of the earth, and other
eatables, which is offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief Tooitonga, which 644
allotment is made once a year, just before the yams in general are arrived at a state of
maturity; these which are used in this ceremony being of a kind which admit of being
planted sooner than others, and, consequently, they are first fruits of the yam-season.'
They were planted late in June. The ceremony seems to have been held about October.
But Cook's ceremony was early in July, too early for 'first fruits', and as he goes on to
remark, a number of his ceremonial yams were 'emblematical'. Anderson, and perhaps
others, were linguistically learned enough after their stay in Tonga not to be misled too
much, and it seems therefore that he and Cook were right in thinking that the central
part of this particular *'inasi* was the 'share' of the Tu'i Tonga's son, the 'young Prince', a
sort of coming of age ceremony; possibly something to do with puberty. Or Cook's theory
of an 'Oath of Allegiancy' to the Prince may have something in it. According to H.M. the
late Queen Salote, his mother, Tupoumoheofo, was forceful enough to get the boy
appointed Tu'i Tonga while his father was still living, in spite of Paulaho's objections—the
only instance of such a thing in Tongan history. The ceremony might then have been one
of installation. (This interesting hypothesis I owe to Miss Dorothy Crozier.) Whatever the
truth of the matter, it is unfortunately impossible to interpret in detail the proceedings
recounted by Cook. The *'inasi* ritual seems to have broken down in the unsettled period in
Tongan politics at the end of the eighteenth century: Mariner writes (pp. 167–8), 'Although the ceremony of *inachi* was entirely abrogated by Finow just before Mr. Mariner
left Vavaoo, we place it first in rank, because it always used to be considered of the utmost
importance before it was done away with; besides which, it was a ceremony which affected
the property of every individual in Vavaoo, and all the Hapai Islands, and formerly in the
Island of Tonga also'. It must therefore have gone first in Tongatapu. The Hon. Ve'ehala,

651 ever before. Now it was expected that we should be uncove[re]d as
low as the waist, that our hair should be loose and flowing over our
796 shoulders; that we should like them sit cross leged and at times in
123 the most humble posture with downcast eyes and hands locked to-
292 gether, all of which they themselves observed; lastly every one was
excluded but the Principle people and those who acted a part. These
302 to me were a sufficient testimony that they looked upon themselves
516 to be acting under the immediate eye of a Supreme Being. We were
told that a far greater or grandeur ceremony than this would be per-
651 formed on the same account in about three months time in which
796 ten Men were to be Sacrificed;[1] this is sufficient for us to beleive
that Human Sacrifices here as well as at Otaheite are considered as
782 necessary.

Before the Ceremony was over the day was far spent and as we
122 were some distance from the Ships and had an intricate Navigation
to go through, we made haste to be gone. When I took leave of the
648 Cheif he press'd me much to stay till the next day to see a funeral
Ceremony. This was the wife of Mariwaggy and Mother in Law to
643 the King, whose Corps, on account of the late Ceremony, lay on
766 board a Canoe in the Lagoon; he told me as soon as it was over he
would go with me to Middleburg, provide[d] I would wait, if not he
would follow, for if it had not been for the death of this Woman,
most of the Chiefs would have accompaned us to that island, all of
them having possessions there. I would gladly have waited to have
seen this Ceremony also had not the tide been now favourable for the
Ships to get through the narrows, and the Wind, which for several
days past had been very boisterous, Moderate and settled, and to
have lost this oppertunity might have detained us a fortnight longer;
beside we were told that the Ceremony would last five days and this
was too long for me to wait in a place where I could not put to sea
at pleasure. I however told him that If we did not sail I should certainly
visit him again the next day, and so we all took leave and set
out for the Ships where we arrived about 8 o'clock in the evening.

123 I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at this last days
ceremony as well as my self, but we were not together nor did I know
651 he was there till it was almost over. Omai after wards told me that as
796 soon as the King missed me, he sent several people one after a nother
to desire me to come back, probably these Messengers were not ad-
mited to come where I was, for I saw nothing of them. At last word

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[1] 'In about three months time' would mean October, the period of the regular *inasi* ceremony, the first-fruits or harvest festival described by Mariner; and men's lives could quite well be part of the harvest apportioned to the share of the gods. We cannot be dogmatic that Cook's 'on the same account' is either right or wrong.

was brought him that I had striped in conformity to their custom and 123
then told Omai he might go too, provide[d] he would comply with 651
all the necessary forms, Omai had no objection as it was only comfirming to the Custom of his own Country, he was furnished with a 796
proper dress and appeared at the ceremony as one of them. Probably one reason why we were excluded at first was the apprehinsions that we would not comply with all the necessary forms.

While I was at [Mooa] I ordered the Horses, Bull cow and goats 231
to be brought thither, thinking they would be safer under the eye
of the cheifs, than left in a place that would be in a manner diserted 177
as soon as we were gone. Besides these Cattle we left with them a young Boar and three young sows of the English breed: they were exceedingly desirous of them, foreseeing no doubt that they would greatly improve their own breed which is rather small, Feenough also got from us two Rabbits a Buck and a Doe and before we left the island were told she had brought forth young ones. If the Cattle succeed, of which I have no doubt, it will be a vast acqu[i]sition to these islands, and as Tongatabu is a fine level country the horses will prove a usefull animal.

THURSDAY 10th. On the 10th at 8 oclock in the Morning, we 122
weighed anchor and with a steady gale at SE turned through the
Channel, between *Maceeha* and *Manooaffee*[1] it being much wider than 133
the one between the last mentioned island and *Pangemaudoo*.[2] The flood set strong in our favour till we were the length of the Channel leading up to the Lagoon,[3] where the flood from the Eastward meets that from the west, this together with the indraught of the Lagoon and shoals before it, causeth Strong riplings and whirlpools.[4] To ad[d] to these dangers the depth of Water in the channel exceeds the length of a Cable, so that there is no anchorage unless close to the rocks where you met with 40 and 45 fathom over a bottom of dark sand, but then here you would be exposed to the whirlpools. This frustrated the design I had formed of bringing the Ships to an anchor as soon as they were th[r]ough the Narrows, and going to see the funeral, I chose rather to lose that sight than leave the ships in a

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[1] Makaha'a and Monu afe.

[2] Cook has here made a slip: for 'last mentioned' read 'first mentioned'. The distance between the reefs on which Makaha'a and Monu afe lie, measured on the chart, is about 2½ cables—some 500 yards, though the channel ('the Narrows') now used is barely 1½ cables wide. The Monu afe reef runs eastward to form the northern side of Piha passage. The distance between the Makaha'a and Pangaimotu reefs is about ½ cable—100 yards or so.

[3] 'The Water is fortunately so clear, that we can see any danger before we are absolutely upon it. This is our principal dependance, for as I before observ'd, the rapidity of the Tide renderd sounding of very little Consequence.'—Clerke.

[4] 'Heavy tide-rips and overfalls', to quote the *Pacific Pilot*, II, p. 368.

situation in which I did not think them safe. We continued to ply to 122
windward between the two tides without either gaining or losing an
Inch till near high water, when by a favourable slant, we got into 133
the Eastern tide influance and where we expected to find the Ebb to
run strong to the Eastward in our favour, but it proved so inconsiderable that at any other time it would not have been noticed. This informed us that most of the Water which flows into the Lagoon comes
in from the NW and returns the same way. About 5 PM finding we
could not get to sea before it was dark I came to an anchor under the
shore of Tongatabu in 47 fathom water, and about two Cables length
from the reef which lays along the shore of the island. The Discovery
droped anchor under our Stern, but before the Anchor took
hold She drove off the bank and did not recover it till after Midnight.
Frid. 11 We remained at this station till 11 oclock the next day, when we
weighed and plyed to the Eastward, but it was 10 PM before we
weathered the East end of the island and were enabled to stretch
away for Midleburg or *Ea oo we*[1] (as it is called by the Inhabitants)
Sat. 12 where we anchored at 8 oclock the next Morning in 40 fathom water
over a bottom of sand interspersed with Coral rocks; the extreams of
the island extending from N [40°] E to S [22°] W, the high land S 45° E
and Tongatabu extending from N [70°] W to N [19°] W distant from the
shore about half a mile. We had no sooner anchored than Taoofa the 648
Chief and several other made us a visit and seemed to rejoice much at
our coming: this Taoofa was my Tayo when I was here last voyage,
consequently we were no strangers to each other.[2] Soon after I went a 648
shore with him to look for fresh water, the Chief object that brought
me to the island, for I had been told here was a stream running from 312
the hills into the Sea, but this was not the case now. The first I was
conducted to was a brackish spring between low and high water
mark, amongst rocks in the Cove where we landed[3] and where no one
would ever have thought of looking for fresh Water, and yet I beleive
the Water might be good was it possible to take it up before the Sea
Water mixes with it. Finding we did not like this Water they took us
a little way into the island, where in a deep chasm was some very
good Water which at the expence of some time and trouble might be
conveyed down to the Sea by means of Spouts or troughs that might
be made with Plantain leaves and the stem of the tree, but rather
than be at that trouble I resol[v]ed to make what we had got serve.

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[1] 'Eua.
[2] Ta'aufa'a: the man Cook knew as 'Tioonee' on the second voyage: II, p. 245.
[3] Ohonua; the anchorage, 'English Road', was the same as on the second voyage. Cf. II, p. 245, n. 1.

648 distance from the land. These men told us that the Canoe we had
seen, in which two of them came from Tongatabu, had brought
orders for us to have a certain number of hogs from Eaoowe or
Middleburg and that in two days the King and other Chiefs would
be with us and therefore desired we would return to our last station.
There was no reason to doubt what these men told us as they came
off with no other view, but as we were now clear of the land this was
[439] not sufficient inducement for me to return. And more especially as
we had got such a stock of hogs and roots on board as would run
near to last us to Otaheite; for we got a good quantity of yams at the
last island which were purchased cheifly with small nails; our stock of
hogs was also considerably increased, but had the Cheifs of Tongatabu,
whose property they mostly were, been with us we had undoubtedly
got many more.

At the approach of Night, finding we would not return, these men
439 left us as also some others who had come off in two Canoes with a
few Cocoanuts and shaddocks to exchange for what they could get.
121 Thus we took leave of the *Friendly Islands* and their Inhabitants after
a stay of between two and three Months, during which time we lived
123 together in the most cordial friendship, some accidental differences
its true now and then happened owing to their great propensity to
thieving, but too often incouraged by the negligence of our own
123 people. But these differences were never attended with any fatal consequences,
to prevent which all my measures were directed. Also
during this time we expended very little of our Sea Provisions but
122 lived upon the produce of the islands; and beside the oppertunity of
leaving the Cattle before mentioned amongst them, those designed
for Otaheite received fresh strength; so that upon the whole the
advantages we received by touching here was very great, when it is
considered that the Season for proceeding to the North was lost before
I steered for these islands.

439 The best articles for traffick are Axes, Hatchets, Togies, that is a
Iron tool made in emmitation of one of theirs which they call by that
name,[1] it is like a plain[2] iron only it aught to be four times as thick.
Nails from the largest spike down to a 10^d, Rasps, Files and Knives
which are much sought after. Red Cloth and Linnen both white and
Coloured; Looking Glasses and Beads, of the latter blue are in the
hig[h]est esteem and white in the least: a String of large blue beads
would at any time purchase a hog.[3] But it must be observed, that

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[1] *toki.*

[2] i.e. plane.

[634] [3] 'large beads of which the blue colour bore many Hund^d P Cent greater value than any other, but this preference to the blue was arbitrary, & happend to be the fashion, for on our first arrival at Annamooka they were indifferent as to colour, but Feenow's fondness

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000 covery's People left four Muskets behind them & a petty officer was sent to fetch them off. The Tide rises and falls about two or three feet at these Islands. They were Discovered by Capt Cook in his last Voyage round the World, & called after Lord Palmerston then one of the Lords of the Admiralty. Omai having lived on shore during our Stay here was much delighted with these Islands, & used often to say afterwards that he would come from Otaheite & settle on them & he made no doubt but he should be able to find them out, tho' he never was able on being asked to point out which way they lay by the Sun or the Compass, but for all that he seem'd convinced himself that he could steer to them in his Canoe & his Ambition might be flattered with the Thoughts of being King of them. After all we may rest pretty well assured that Omai will not be so foolish as ever to make the Attempt.

121 FRIDAY APRIL 18th. We made sail & left these Islands. All thoughts
of getting to Otaheite this spring having some time ago been given up
122 on account of the easterly Winds, & as our Water began to grow
short & the Provender for the Cattle was near exhausted, the
Friendly Isles had been fixed upon as the most likely place where we
shou'd meet with Supplies, and as the Preservation of the Cattle was
a matter of some moment it was well that the Passage to Otaheite
was given up in time; for towards the latter end of the Month when
we made the friendly Isles there was hardly any food left for them in
the Ship, so that if we had been detained at Sea a little while longer
they must have perished of Want; but luckily on the 29th of April we
came in Sight of the Island of Anamooka, called by Tasman who first
439 discovered it Rotterdam. In the Afternoon two Canoes came off to
the Ship with three Men in each. They brought us some Breadfruit,
Cocoa nuts Sugar Cane and shaddocks for which we gave them a few
439 Nails. One of the Indians who was an elderly Man ventured on board
the Ship, his Body was covered over with Scars, his Speech & Action
648 were violent, and he was very earnest in relating something to us
565 which we did not understand, at the same time pointing towards the
Shore, he was much agitated during the short time he staid on board.
This Man we afterwards found to be an Age[1] or Chief. As he was a
very active Person & took a busy Part in managing the commercial
Interests of his Countrymen, & seemed to be of much weight &
consequence in the Island, he was afterwards known among us by
122 the Name of Lord North. While we were standing towards Anamooka
609 we passed several small Islands to windward of us and saw many

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[1] ‘*eiki*. His name was Kepa.

[pp. 987-1011 not processed]

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sailing Canoes cruising about. We came to an anchor in an open road 122
at the Island of Anamooka, on the outside of the reef facing a bay [609]
with a fine sandy beach at the head of it, where some large Canoes
were hauled up & many of their Houses stood under the Shade of the
Cocoa nut Trees. We had many Canoes come off to us with Hogs, 439
Cocoa nuts & other Fruits which the Island afforded for which we
gave them Hatchets Nails &c. which they highly prized. Capt Cook 122
went on shore in the Bay & fixed upon a House which he hired of the
Indians for our Use during our Stay, which saved us the Trouble of
erecting the Tents. The Astronomers lived on shore tho' they did not
fix their Observatories here. The Horses, Cattle, Sheep &c. were sent [177]
on shore with two Men to look after them; the Natives who had never
before seen any other animal beside a Hog or a Dog were much
surprized when they saw our large Cattle. People were sent on shore
to wood & water; the water they got out of a large stagnant Pond
which was brackish, the wood they cut down was the Mangineel
Tree[1] which gave many of our People sore Eyes occasioned by the
Juice flying into them. The different Parties on shore were under the 439
Command of the second Lieut, & a Market was established before
the House under the Management of the Gunners of each Ship, who
were the sole Persons employed to traffick with the Indians for
Provisions, all other trade being strictly prohibited; a large Ring
was made before the House where those who had any thing for
market exposed them to sale. The Chiefs kept the rabble in order; if [565
they came too near the House they pelted them with Stones & Cocoa
nuts & those they could reach they banged most unmercifully with 689]
Clubs, we have seen instances of their knocking a fellow in the Head
with one of their Clubs which deprived him of his Senses & he was
carried off by his friends in a State of insensibility, while the Chief
paraded about not minding whether he was alive or dead or seeming
to take any Notice of what he had done. Thus with the assistance of
the Chiefs things were carried on with regularity & the market was
every Day well supplyed with Provisions.

Capt^n^ Cook was visited by the King of the Island whose Name is 648
Toobow,[2] about 30 years of age, stout and well made & of a very 565
agreeable open Countenance. We continued upon friendly terms with
him by making him Presents &c. & he encouraged his Subjects to [439]
bring Hogs & other Provisions to market which were our first object,
tho' in a short time another article engaged our Attention from the
highest to the lowest and was sought after with greater avidity than

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[1] Feta'anu, *Excoecaria agallocha.*

[2] Tupou.

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439 the Hogs or breadfruit, & tho' it was a contraband Trade it was
prosecuted with the greatest Activity & Spirit in defiance of the
[648] severe Penalties with which it was loaded, & in Contempt of that
[565] Danger which attended the Prosecution of this fraudulent & lucrative
Traffick. This Article was no other than red Feathers. It must be
[171] remembered that at Otaheite red Feathers are prized above anything
whatsoever, they being the most valuable offering they make to their
Gods & very scarce at that Island as they have no birds with red
Plumage, this Circumstance was found out by our Circumnavigators
last Voyage, who happening to bring a few red feathers with them
from the Marqeses found what great Value the Otaheiteans set upon
them, preferring them to every thing they had got. This being
universally known in the two Ships it is no wonder that every one
endeavoured to supply himself with a good Stock at these Islands
where they are so plentiful, tho' these people get them from another
Island. The Indians in a short time perceving our eagerness after
them raised the Price of them, so that at last they became so dear
that it was hardly worth our while to purchase them, as the Hatchets
& Shirts we gave them would fetch as much at Otaheite as the small
Quantity of Feathers they gave us for them. However every one
provided himself with a good Stock before we left these Islands &
[292] they turned out to very good Account at Otaheite. The Inhabitants
make Caps of them & various Ornaments for their Dresses, those
[301] they sold us were pasted on Cloth, & had a very beautiful appearance.

Some of us used to go every day shooting wild Ducks, a great
122 number of which were met with on a large Lagoon & some Ponds in
609 the interior Part of the Island, the Indians would generally attend us
& look out for them & when they were shot run into the Pond &
241 fetch them out. Along the large lagoon which occupies a great part
of the middle of ye Island are most delightful walks shaded from the
361 Sun by the branches that meet together over head; the Country
262 throughout is exceedingly well cultivated & has the appearance of a
beautiful Garden; nothing can be more agreeable than the Inclosures
in which their Houses stand, round which the bread fruit & Plantain
Trees grow & extend their friendly Shade over the Natives, while
they sit beneath them partaking of a delicious & wholesome Meal
supplyed by those trees that spread their umbrageous Leaves to
133 defend them from the Rays of too near a Sun. Such enchanting
Prospects does this little Isle afford that it may be said to realize the
poetical Descriptions of the Elysian Fields in ancient Writers, it is
certainly as beautiful a Spot as Immagination can paint; there are
small Hills here & there to vary the prospect, tho' they rise to no

634 to us in our future intercourse with his Countrymen. We staid at this
648 Island till Wednesday the 14th of May, when we set sail to the NE
[177] with a fair Wind, Capt Cook having been informed of some Islands
called Happai which lay in that direction & were under the Dominion
[122] of Phenow, who had invited him thither with a promise of a plentiful
Supply of Hogs & other Provisions. Phenow in his large sailing Canoe
attended by many others set sail along with us.

122 FRIDAY MAY the 16th we came in sight of the Islands & the next
Morning we anchored in a good Bay about a Mile from the Shore.
101 These Islands besides being called Happai have each a seperate
Name; they are joined to one another by reefs, are in Number
& extend considerably in length from NNE to SSW but not much in
122 breadth. Our Passage here from Anamooka was tedious considering
the Distance being no more than fourteen Leagues in a direct Line.
We passed several small Islands in our Way, among the rest the high
Island on which is a Volcano[1] & which is to be seen from Anamooka.
609 The Sailing Canoes that accompanied us went on shore to
one of these Islands every night & as we lay to after sunset they joined
us again in the Morning, they sailed much quicker than we did, their
634 rate of going being about three miles to our two. After coming to an
Anchor we were surrounded with a great Number of the natives in
648 their Canoes loaded with Hogs, Breadfruit, Plantains, Cocoa nuts
&c. & Phenow came on board the Ship to welcome us on our arrival
here.

648 SATURDAY MAY 20th. This Day was dedicated entirely to martial
Exercises, Dances & other amusements which were conducted with
541 great regularity & afforded much Pleasure both to us and the
Indians. Phenow having expressed a desire of seeing our military
648 Exercise, this being a fine morning presented an opportunity of
177 gratifying his Curiosity in this Particular, accordingly Captn Cook
ordered the Marines of both Ships on Shore under the Command of
their Lieut. & a midshipman dressed in his Uniform to carry an
English Jack before them on a long Staff. A prodigious Number of
the Natives were collected together on the Beach & a large Space
was left clear for our People. Captn Cook with some of the officers of
each Ship sat in a House at the upper end of the open Area along
with Phenow & the Chiefs of the Island. The Marines were drawn up
facing them & went through their Evolutions to the great admiration
of the Natives, who were astonished at seeing the Balls light at a
considerable distance in the Sea. Phenow willing to see their effect

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[1] Tofua.

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Lives & Property: of the latter it may be doubted whether they have 565
any! We were every day well supplyed with Hogs, Breadfruit &c, and
as red Feathers were become a valuable article of Trade, on May 23rd 439
Phenow with several large Canoes set sail for some Islands called
Vowvow[1] which they told us lay to the Northward at the distance of a
Day's Sail, to get a Supply of Feathers.

MONDAY MAY 26th. We got under sail & stood along shore to the 122
Southward keeping a boat a head sounding, at six in the Evening
came to an anchor off the Southernmost of the Happai Isles. During
our stay here Powlohow, who was said to be the Chief of all the 648
Islands, arrived from Tongataboo, Capt^{n} Cook made him many 643
large Presents & treated him with great respect. On leaving these
Islands we directed our Course for the Island Anamooka & were 122
accompanied by Powlohow. We had some Gales of Wind & found [643]
it a difficult passage between the small Islands in our way, one night
the Resolution was very near being lost on the breakers that run off [648]
a small sandy Island called Agano,[2] however in the afternoon of June
5th we came to an anchor in our old Birth off Annamooka in Lat
20° 14′ South. The Names of the small Islands we came by in our [103]
passage hither are *Matafoa*[3] where there is a Volcano, *Kodoa*, *Agaho*,
Modua & *Fedoa*.[4] We continued here till the 8th during which time we
were supplied with Hogs and Roots by the Natives, & some of the [439]
Gentlemen of both Ships went ashore ashooting where they met with
good Sport on the Lagoon which is frequented by great Numbers of
wild Ducks. Phenow returned from Vowvow with some red feathers, [164]
he told us that several of his Canoes had been lost in a Gale of Wind
& that all the Men had lost their lives. [634]

SUNDAY MORNING JUNE 8. We weighed Anchor and came to sail
with the Wind at NE; after clearing the Island of Annamoka we stood
sbw for the Island Tongataboo, called Amsterdam by Tasman who
first discovered it. Two Indians took a passage with us in the Ship [648]
and Powlohow, Phenow and other Chiefs accompanyed us in their [643]
large Canoes. Next day we saw the Island. [634]

JUNE 10th. Both Ships moored in a fine safe Harbour in 10 f^{m} water with fine black sand, Lat. 21° 7′ South; on coming in both Ships struck lightly on a patch of Choral Rock but received no Damage.

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[1] Vava'u.

[2] Samwell has got his names confused. 'Agano' here seems to be written over an erased name with a vestigial 'h' in it—possibly 'Agaho' of three lines below, which must be Kao. But the small sandy island was Putuputua.

[3] Tofua.

[4] Kotu, Kao, Motu Tapu and Fotuha'a—a rather random selection.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

439 We were soon surrounded by a great number of Canoes full of men
who behaved in a friendly manner to us and sold us Hogs, Cocoa nuts,
Plantains and other fruits for nails & beads.

122 JUNE 11th. The Tents with the 2 Astronomers' Observatories were
erected on shore under a Guard of Marines, & all our live Stock was
landed which consisted of 4 Horses, several head of Cattle, Sheep,
Goats & Hogs with Peacocks, Turkies & Geese. Our Tents were
situated at the upper end of a fine Area surrounded by Trees, it seems
to be a place appropriated for the Exhibition of Public Games, such
as wrestling, boxing &c. Close to the Tents was one of the Chiefs
Houses, behind them lay a thick wood, on the right an Inlet which
extended a considerable way up but was dry at low water, on the left
was the Harbour where we could see between the Trees the Ships at
anchor; the Observatories were erected without the Area close to the
Beach but within sight of the Tents, they were inclosed with a Hedge
[312] & always guarded by a Sentry. Near the Tents was a pool of indifferent
fresh Water, of which there are many in the Island and are
[515] used as bathing places by the Natives. Powlohow took up his residence
in a House a little way without the Area, that next to the Tents
177 was occupied by his Consent by some of the Gentlemen who were
825 ordered a shore on duty, and another little Hut close by was allotted
[122] us for the use of our Cattle & Poultry, whose appearance excited as
[649] much astonishment and admiration as a Collection of wild Beasts at a
Country fair in England. The Indians were a long time before they
could be persuaded to approach near to the Horses & Cattle, but our
Sheep & Goats, being more like their Hogs, they did not regard with
the same degree of Terror tho' it was some time before they became
thoroughly reconciled to the Goats; these on being approached by
the Indians would rear on their hind Legs & make a push at them,
which put them in bodily fear & often made whole armies fly.
However they found out by degrees that they were as innocent as the
Sheep & only more playful, so that at last the Indians passed by them
648 or advanced up to them without any dread. During the time of
609 erecting our Tents we were surrounded by a great Number of
643 Indians who behaved in an orderly and peaceable Manner and at
night retired to their several Homes except the attendants of Powlohow,
who remained with him at his House waiting for his Supper.
[431] Some Servants arrived with provisions enough for a Hundred men
which Powlohow, after a basket or two were laid by for himself,
ordered to be laid at the Doors of our Tents as a present for our
people together with a number of Cocoa nuts; the provision he

& made a blow at him, but missed him; he endeavoured to lay hold 648
of me again, but well knowing that putting a good face on the Matter 685
would be the only way to extricate myself out of their Hands, I
followed my blow & after making an Effort or two to lay hold of me
he took to his Heels finding himself deserted by his Confederates, who
had run away in the utmost precipitation on my first getting loose, I
thus saved above one half of the Beads & probably my Cloaths which
it is odds but they intended to take from me. This was the only
instance of Violence that I met with among them, tho' I was
frequently as much in their Power as I was at this time.

There were but few Houses on that part of the Island where the 361
Ships lay, & those who came from distant Parts erected temporary
Huts near our Tents for their residence during our stay in the
Country. Among these was Malawagee the father of Phenow, an old 643
Man & a Chief of the first consequence, and there was another Chief
who generally resided in the House close to the Tent, who was re- 644
markable for being foolish & possessing the highest Rank tho' it is
believed not the greatest power of any of the Chiefs of these Islands.
His name was Tooloobooloo,[1] he had a wife as foolish as himself and
they both seemed to be considered in the light of Divinities among
their Countrymen; Powlohow who was certainly their King, as he
possessed the first Authority among them, was not even suffered to
eat in the presence of this foolish Fellow. Omai spent most part of his 123
time on shore, where he erected a small House for himself and his
Girl close to the Astronomer's observatories; as he always kept
Company with Captn. Cook & the officers of the Ships, he was looked
upon as a Chief of great Consequence & as such was highly respected
among them. The two new Zealand Boys did not trouble the Ship [177]
much while we staid here, they spent most of their time among the
Natives, who paid much attention to them & were very fond of their
Company; having once seen the new Zealand Heivah or war dance
they frequently desired the Boys to perform it before them which they
did & were much caressed & admired for it. In this manner those 648
who had leasure time on their Hands spent it here, while the neces-
sary duty of the ship was carried on such as wooding, watering, 439
repairing the Sails, salting Pork & stowing away yams for a Sea 123
Stock, & Captn Cook kept up an amicable intercourse with the 122
Chiefs by making them Presents & treating them at all times with
Kindness & respect, by which means our market ashore & the Ships 784
were well supplied with provisions but which cannot be the case
without the Concurrence of the Chiefs, who have it in their Power to

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[1] Latunipulu.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

648 put an interdiction upon all Trade, which they call Taboo, which is
always most religiously observed by all the Natives; from hence it
439 appears how necessary it is to cultivate the good will & Friendship
123 of the Chiefs, which Captn Cook never failed to do, and of his
extraordinary good management of Indians nothing can be a
122 stronger proof than the ample Supplies we procured at all the Islands
784 we touched at. When Powlohow first visited Captn Cook at the
Happai Islands, among other things he asked him what he wanted at
648 these Isles, which rather surprized him as we had never such a
question proposed to us before at any of the South Sea Islands, the
643 natives contenting themselves with staring at us with vacant astonish-
439 ment & getting what they could from us without enquiring what
brought us amongst them or what we wanted. This gave us no mean
opinion of his Understanding; being answered that we touched here
for refreshments he told us we should have whatever the Country
afforded. The old King after a little further Acquaintance with us,
observing that we paid the best price for Women & Hogs, concluded
that these were the Commodities we were in search of & that wher-
ever they abounded we should be glad to go, & being very desirous
that we should visit Tongataboo, the largest of his Islands, He urged
Captn Cook strongly to go there, always enforcing his Intreaties with
that irresistible Argument, wurrow wurrow Booaga, wurro wurrow
Phaphenee,[1] that is, that in that Island we should be supplied with
plenty of fine Hogs & fine women.

122 Omai having a dispute one day with the Corporal of Marines,
struck him while upon duty, on which the Man returned the blow,
at this Omai was highly offended & made his Complaint to Captn
Cook, but not receiving that redress which he expected he took the
Resolution of staying behind at these Islands & with that Intention
set off for a distant part of the Country & took Tayweherooa the
New Zealand Boy along with him; a messenger was sent after him &
he was prevailed upon to return the next day & matters were made
up to his satisfaction, tho' Captn Cook would not punish the Corporal
648 as Omai had struck him while upon duty. The Island being exceeding
beautiful & pleasant & the weather almost constantly fair, hardly a
609 day passed but some small party of the Gent. of both Ships made
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[1] Samwell's Tongan here is a little doubtful. The word *lau* would mean 'plenty of', in the sense of an indefinite number, and would give him his '-row'; but possibly the 'old King's' irresistible argument was not based on numbers but on quality, and he was saying *ualoa*, in the sense of upstanding or large. (Tongan informants think this likely, though the word would now be applied to a tall thin person, and not to animals.) In Tongan eyes, quantity in both women and pigs would be synonymous with quality: therefore *ualoa puaka, ualoa fefine*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

192 Tāmà, or Jānà, is an appellation they use in calling to a person, the same as we do: You Sir! Friend. &c.

wei seuge! a note of Admiration

wooi! wooi! wooi! Astonishmᵗ

533 They have Songs of a considerable length of which the following is one

539 Offa geeva vaw / manadoo leva / edoodogamai / anobooboo / monooanaleva / wisaogee / fucabóė / dooiarafadee / caw aroo aw / eida feeda hala / manoo goo ma anoo / geeodoffa / oomea seuge / fucaboe tooihara fadai / edoai / naihehea / gonoogoomanoo / gadoogooangee / dadooadoroo / movawdoodeffa / leegooàė / geedagagavėà / enengala / pabaivagadea / oobebea /

N. The Words contained in each division is one Stave at the end of which there is a small stop.

Another song begins Feneedangeeloi / mabo-foojee &c (Maphee's Song).[1]

565 As to the Religion of these people we know nothing about it, & the same may be said of their Government, only this that it seems to be 771 quite arbitrary; it was observable that the common People stood in more awe of their Chiefs than the Otaheiteans, and that at Public 171 Meetings they were kept in good order & every thing conducted with greater regularity than at that Island, which undoubtedly is 782 owing to the great Command the Chiefs have over them. On solemn Occasions they offer up human Sacrifices at these Islands, which are selected from the common People by the Chiefs who kill them with their own Hands.

● 122 JULY 3ʳᵈ. Having procured wood & Water and a Plentiful Supply of Provisions we are making preparations for leaving the Island; this Morning we sailed out of the Harbour and at eleven o'Clock we anchored without the reef that makes the north part of the Harbour. 648 Captⁿ Cook made many Presents to the Chiefs among which were to Powlohow, a Horse and a Mare to Phenow, Sheep to Malawaggee.

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[1] Though in the preceding examples of the language a number of Samwell's individual words can be disentangled, it is extremely difficult to get sense out of his connected phrases, and no attempt at their translation is here made. One exception will be enough to illustrate the difficulty: his 'Aina fogee aina fogee &c' (words repeated in 'their common Dances') may very likely stand for *ai mofo ki, ai mofo ki*, 'Keep it up this way, keep it up this way'—a natural encouragement to movement. Some Tongan scholar should certainly apply his ingenuity to the problems involved.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

SUNDAY JULY 6th. Struck the Tents & got every thing on board. 122
The Sheep given to Malawaggee being neglected and ill used by the
Natives Captn Cook took them on board again to day. While we lay
here a grand Festival was observed on shore called Annachee, held 651
on account of Powlohow's eldest Son arriving at a certain age (about 796
14 or 15). At this Festival which lasted three days, were present 644
Captn Cook & Clerke with Omai & some of the Officers of the
Resolution. It was held in the interior part of the Island where
Powlohow & the Principal Chiefs lived. Captain Cook & Omai were
permitted to assist at the Ceremony, which they did dressed in this [291]
Country Habit with their Hair loose about their Shoulders & uncovered [302]
from the waist upwards. Powlohow's Son was seated cross [123]
legged upon fine Matts & the principal Chiefs of the Island came in a
Procession & made him Presents of Cloth & other Manufactures
with all kind of Provisions, & Captain Cook & Omai who joined in
the procession gave him some Hatchets, Beads & other Things—
every thing was conducted with great Solemnity & it was death for
any of the Natives who were not concerned in the Ceremony to be
seen near the Place, & such of our Gentlemen who were Spectators
through a Hedge were not supposed to be there. We supposed that at
this Festival the Chiefs were swearing Fealty & doing Homage to the
next Heir to the Crown, & that by the Presents they laid at his feet,
that they acknowledged all their Property was in his Power & that
they only held it at his Pleasure. And they told us that in about a
Month's time another Festival was to be held in the same place on 651
the like Occasion, at which the Chiefs were to do him Homage and
acknowledge their Lives to be in his Hands, by each of them killing 796
a certain Number of their dependents in his Presence, & they said 644
that about 50 human Sacrifices would be offered up on the occasion; 782
Pheenow was to kill the greatest Number of any of the Chiefs, his
Quota being six, the rest were to slay some four, some 3 & others two [634]
& one according to their different Ranks. This horrid business was to
be performed by the Chiefs themselves who knock the Victims in the
Head with a Club. We asked them if those who were to be sacrificed
knew that they were to be the Victims; they told us not & that if they
did they would run away, but that they were always taken unawares.
Such is the Savage Custom of these People, & in such a deplorable
state of Servitude do the lower Rank of men live among them that
they hold their existence but at the will of their Masters.

THURSDAY JULY 10th. At 7 o'Clock this Morning got under sail with 122
the Wind at ESE; employed all day in turning to Windward, at

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

122 Sunset came to an anchor. We are bound for the Island of Middleburgh called by the Natives Oo-hā.[1]

FRIDAY JULY 11th. Weighed & sailed, turning to windward all the Afternoon, got throug[h] the Passage, & by midnight having weathered the Easternmost Part of Tongataboo, we stood to the SSW for Oo-hā.

SATURDAY JULY 12th. This forenoon we came to an anchor be-
tween the N & W Points of the Island Oohā or Middleburgh about
2 or 3 miles distant from the Shore. Many Canoes came round the
609 Ships. Captn Cook went ashore & a Market was opened for Provisions
648 on a Platt of Ground near the landing Place, the King of the Island
attended Captn Cook on board who sent him ashore with many
439 presents, & among the rest he gave him a Ram & a Yew, which he
set a greater Value upon than Malawagee had. Pheenow had pro-
634 posed to accompany us hither, but was prevented by the Death of
764 some old Woman of distinction whose funeral he was obliged to
302 attend, & on whose account he had the Hair of his Head cut off
according to the Custom among these Islands.

439 SUNDAY JULY 13th. Our Boats ashore trading for Provisions & some
Canoes about the Ships.

609 TUESDAY JULY 15th. Captain Cook, Omai & some other Gentlemen
439 went ashore & others to trade for Provisions. In the Place where the
Market was held an Indian was killed by some of his Countrymen; it
684 seems that his Crime was endeavouring to force one of the Agee
Girls, when it was so highly resented by her Friends that accidentally
seeing him among the Croud they fell upon him with Clubs & put
him to death; the Man threw himself for Protection among our
648 People but they could not save him. In the afternoon two of the
Resolutions people, walking in the Country, were stripped & beat
685 by the Indians, they came naked to our People at the Market place
who gave them something to throw over them. Captn Cook being
ashore sent for a reinforcement of marines, which arriving soon after
had such an Effect upon the Agee or Chiefs that not only the Clothes
were returned but one of the Thieves was deliverd up, & he was
carryed Prisoner on board the Resolution where the poor fellow
expected to be put to Death. However he was ransomed next day
for a large Hog.

142 Considering the small Distance between this Island and Tongataboo the difference between the Natives is remarkable, these being

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[1] 'Eua.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

a small sized mean-looking People in comparison with the others & 142
the women in general are not so handsome. A few of them lay on
board the Ship every night. 609

The Island is high & of a very beautiful appearance; the Hilly part
is covered with Verdure & the skirts of the Island along the Sea 133
Shore covered with Cocoa nut, Breadfruit & other Trees; they have 137
many Shaddocks here; the Produce of it is the same as that of Tonga- 241
taboo. We got no water here.

THURSDAY JULY 17th. This forenoon we got under Sail with the 312
wind at SE and stood to the southward, at Sunset took our Departure
from Oohā bearing NE distant 2 or 3 Leagues, which was the last we 122
saw of the Friendly Isles. We are now shaping our Course for
Otaheite.

FRIDAY AUGUST 8th. Nothing remarkable happened on our Pas- 000
sage, till to day when in Lat. 24 S we fell in with the South east Trade and about noon discovered an Island to the Northward of us; we ran towards it till Sunset when we hauled our Wind & stood off & on during the night.

SATURDAY AUGUST 9th. At day light bore away for the Land, at 7 o'Clock hauled round the SW Point and soon after brought to under the lee of the Island. Sounded & had ground at 30 fathoms fine sand at the distance of about half a mile from the Reef. Several Canoes came off to the Ships but would not venture on board, but kept shouting to us at a distance. Omai understood their Language very well and spoke to them but still they were afraid of trusting themselves on board, he asked them the Name of the Island & they told him it was called Oto-boo-ee[1]: As there was no prospect of a Harbour or of getting any thing here, at nine o'Clock Captn Cook made sail & steered again for Otaheite. This Island is between four and five miles in length, is surrounded by a reef at a good distance from the Shore, with Openings that seemed navigable for Ships, it is high uneven Land, it appeared on our first making it like two Islands, being low in the middle & high at each end; at a little distance from the East end lay three small Islands. Lat. 23°22′ S, Long 210°50′ E. The people seemed in their Persons like the Otaheiteans, their Canoes were quite different in Shape from those of Otaheite & were painted of various Colours.

AUGUST 12th. Early this Morning we saw Osnaburgh Island & soon after came in Sight of Otaheite to the great pleasure of every one on board. Omai sat all day on the forecastle viewing his Native Shores

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[1] Tubuai.

[pp. 1051-1300 not processed]

satisfied to take a rear seat to those whom they feel to be intellectually 178 559
inferior. 565

It would seem that Tonga will not cease to be a rank-oriented society. 555
Rank is endemic to Polynesian society and no doubt will continue to be an
organizing factor in Tongan social and societal structures. The principles of
rank will probably shift to a greater emphasis on achievement, which
indeed was true at the time when Tupou I appointed his legal nobles
from a large choice of chiefs. At that time achievement was based on warfare
and ability. After the nobles were appointed, however, the traditional
principles of rank took over, and in effect they changed only in small details
that functioned in such a way as to make major changes unnecessary.
This may continue to operate in the future, with educated commoners 000
marrying the daughters of chiefs to elevate their descendants' class rank.
But it is hard to see how *ha'a* rank will continue to be the vehicle of political
power play. Already there are two educated commoners as Cabinet [565]
Ministers, and it seems probable that, not too far in the future, office holders [555]
by virtue of tradition will operate in a sphere of influence that is separate
from real political power, which will then be in the hands of nontraditional
leaders operating under new principles of rank.

NOTES 000

1. Research in the Tonga Islands was carried out for one and one half years from [122]
1964 to 1967 and was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25,
984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health, and by the Wenner-Gren Foundation [114]
for Anthropological Research. I wish to thank the government of Tonga under
their majesties the late Queen Sālote Tupou III and the present King Tāufa'āhau
Tupou IV as well as the many Tongans who helped me in my work, especially the
Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, who was especially helpful in traditional
and genealogical information. I would also like to thank Raymond Firth, Alan
Howard, Roger Green, Ward Goodenough, and Marshall Sahlins for reading and commenting
on this paper. Most of the information was collected in the field; there was [128]
little reliance on earlier published accounts of Tonga. The reader will note that frequently [127]
details do not agree with Gifford (1929) but that in many ways Tongan social
organization was the same in 1967 as it was in 1920. [178]
2. Rank as manifested in material culture and language will be the subject of a subsequent
paper.
3. The term *matakali* is also in use today. The word is a borrowing from Fijian [192]
mataqali and refers to a group not necessarily related by traceable blood ties.
4. A woman may differentiate her *tama* by the terms *tama fefine* (female offspring)
and *tama tangata* (male offspring), but it is not necessary to do so because her be- [601]
havior to them is the same. A man, however, elevates his daughter over his son and [602]
correspondingly differentiates them terminologically.
5. See Gifford (1929) and Beaglehole (1941) for customs relating to brother-sister
avoidance.
6. *Tokoua* can be divided into *ta'okete* (elder sibling of the same sex) and *tehina* 602
(younger sibling of the same sex). The principle of relative age has little importance 612
here; in fact, descendants of two brothers or two sisters are often termed *kāinga tau* 554
(fighting relatives) because they often argue over which one is higher. This principle [601]
does have importance, however, in inheritance.
7. The example assumes that all have the same class rank.
8. A dead man's *tama 'a tu'asina* (children of his mother's brother) and the *tama 'a* [764]
tu'asina of his mother (children of his mother's mother's brother), are known as *liongi* [601]
(for funerals only).

538 tions such as the dedication of a new church, or as a welcome to visiting dignitaries.
535 As in any living dance tradition, the forms of dance in Tonga have changed. The
[527] poetry which dance accompanies, however, still makes reference to the same or
similar themes: cosmology; legendary origin of monuments, tombs, and fabulous ships; heroes and beautiful women; sacred animals; and stories associated with outstanding local events. The performances serve the chiefs today just as they have always done—to honor and entertain them, and to demonstrate the allegiance of their subjects. As long as the present social system of Tonga remains, dances of this type will no doubt continue to be created and performed.

NOTES

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[122] 1. Presented at the Eleventh Pacific Science Congress of the Pacific Science Association, held at the University of Tokyo, Japan, August-September, 1966, and organized by the Science Council of Japan. Research in the Tonga Islands was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-FI-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I also wish to acknowledge Katherine Luomala, Penieli Fisi'hoi, and Genevieve Highland for reviewing the manuscript; and Alan Howard, who directed my graduate program.

113 2. Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (Honolulu, 1924), 49-52.

3. E. E. V. Collocott and John Havea, *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans*, Bishop Museum Occasional Papers VIII (Honolulu, 1922), 48.

4. Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Society*, Bishop Museum Bulletin 61 (Honolulu, 1929), 142, 233-234.

Bishop Museum
Honolulu, Hawaii

114 An adequate description of a culture should place the same emphasis on
121 dance as that given it by the members of that society. Yet inadequate
descriptions of dances and their social functions persist even though
dancing is a cultural universal which is integrated with many other
universals in society. Despite the new techniques in recording dance
movements and the possibility of testing approaches such as those
developed in ethnoscience for their applicability, the scientific
description of dance and its function in Polynesia is at the same point
where the first writers on the subject, such as Captain Cook, left it.

The work to be presented here is an exploratory step in filling
121 a gap in the descriptive literature of the Pacific. It has two aims,
namely, to outline a method for analyzing structure of ethnographic
dance data and to delineate the structure of the dance of the
Polynesian society of Tonga.

I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties
122 the late Queen Salote Tupou III and the present King Taufa'ahau
Tupou IV for permitting me to reside in Tonga for an extended period
of time. I also wish to thank other government officials including
His Royal Highness Prince Tu'i Pelehake, Mahe 'Uli'uli Tupouniua, and
123 the Honorable Ve'ehala. To my Tongan families, the Mataeles, Helus,
and Fonofehis go my *'ofa 'atu*, not only for their kindness and
acceptance but also for patiently putting up with my repeated questions
about things being the same or different, which one individual
confessed "made her wild."

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

128 This dissertation was initiated under the direction of Dr. Alan Howard while he was a member of the faculty of the University of Hawaii. He continued as chairman of the dissertation committee even though he transferred full time to the Bishop Museum. Dr. Thomas W. Maretzki assumed the official chairmanship for purposes of final defense.

122 In writing this dissertation I would like to acknowledge my debts to the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research who financed my work. I would also like to thank the Bernice P. Bishop Museum for giving me time and space to pursue my work, and to its staff members William K. Kikuchi, Fellow in Anthropology, for his line drawings, Genevieve Highland, Editor, for helpful suggestions on the manuscript, and Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., Curator, for permission to use his maps.

121 the ethnographer's point of view, can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves.

FIELDWORK ON WHICH THIS STUDY IS BASED

The fieldwork on which this study is based was carried out in two 122 stages. The first field trip was financed by a pre-doctoral fellowship from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. The second more extensive field trip was financed by Public Health Service fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and a research attachment.

123 My first real acquaintance with the Tongans was in 1964 during the Tenth International Conference of the Pan Pacific and South East Asian Women's Association (PPSEAWA) held in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. At least three events during this two-week conference helped to establish my rapport with the Tongan people and to impress upon them my purpose.

First, most of the women of PPSEAWA are middle aged or older and all of the Tongan people thought that I was a reporter for the conference. (I had, in fact, only shortly before joined PPSEAWA because I was going to Tonga at approximately the same time as the Conference people.) Many were considerably surprised when during the second week I gave the paper for the Hawaiian delegation. The symposium "Art and Culture as a Bridge Between Past and Future" was based on my paper, "The Preservation of the Arts in Hawaii" (Kaeppler 1965). After this I was firmly established in the eyes of the Tongans as being interested in the arts.

123 'squatters' lived in a small house on the same land, and in some ways
can be considered part of the household.

[121] My original plan was to do a broad study of the arts and aesthetic
[125] tastes in Tonga. I gave value tests based on sculpture, began to learn
the language and some dances, and observed tapa making. But mainly
I just participated in Tongan life.

[121] On my second trip I stayed nearly one year and lived alone in a
small, thatched Tongan house. However, for many purposes I was again
part of a household. This was a commoner family consisting of a
married couple plus their own and 'adopted' children. I usually spent
two days each week in Lapaha, Mu'a, the village traditionally reknowned
for its dancing. In Lapaha the family I stayed with consisted of a
woman of a chiefly family; her husband, a man from a _matāpule_ (ceremonial attendant) family; the woman's step-father, who was a commoner;
and two young girls who did most of the work. This third family was
Catholic, while the first two were Mormon and Wesleyan, respectively.

121 Building on my knowledge of Tonga gathered during the first trip,
I decided to concentrate on two of their important cultural categories--
dance and tapa making--and to explore the relation between these and
192 the social order. It should be noted that the Tongans have no verbalized category that would correspond to the Western concept of the
122 'arts.' A few months after I arrived Queen Salote died, which placed
765 both dance and tapa making under tapu. This tapu officially lasted
766 784 six months, but in effect really lasted for a year. Although my
[535]
[287]

122 specific research died under me, so to speak, this did not prove to be
765 an insurmountable problem. After a month or so, some of my informants
766
784 were willing to teach me some dances and were willing to talk about
122 dance. In some ways this was an advantage, for if I wanted to know
124 how to do something, they could not tell me to go and look at a
performance, but had to demonstrate instead.

122 The last nation-wide celebration with dance performance was in
535 1962. It is not very often that a large-scale celebration is held, so
541 the Queen's death was not the only reason that I could not observe one.
I did, however, miss the minor dance performances which would have been
123 held if the Queen had not died during my residence. Fortunately,
during my first field trip and the first three months of my second
field trip I did see performances of all the dance genres. I also
learned to perform a dance of each genre. From observation, participation, and persistent questioning my research has enabled me to
delineate the structure of Tongan dance and its function in the
society.

121 Many other aspects of life were studied that will not be
presented here. A good deal of my time was occupied with gathering
126 of texts that dances accompany. These texts are not written down but
[122] are reconstructed each time they are to be performed by the people who
know them, and it was particularly difficult to gather these people
together especially when it was tapu to sing dance songs. These texts
[128] are very important in ascertaining the meaning of the dance. The

126 gathering, translation and search for meaning of these texts were
128 probably the most frustrating aspects of my research. (See Kaeppler
121 1967a for an interpretation of one of these texts.) I also worked
129 on the interrelations between tapa design, the dances, and their texts,
and I was instructed in the making of tapa, mats, and other kinds of
122 plaiting. Actually, it was my good fortune to be in Tonga at the time
of the funeral and mourning ceremonies of the Queen. These were not
only illuminating in themselves but gave me insights into aspects of
121 culture that I might otherwise have missed. Throughout my research,
181 no matter what aspects of culture I examined, the fundamental theme
of social organization always arose. Language, material culture,
dance, religion--all referred ultimately to the fundamental emphasis
of this society on its socio-political system.

62: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
Tungua

POTTERY SHERDS FROM TUNGUA, HA‘APAI: AND REMARKS ON POTTERY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN TONGA

Adrienne L. Kaeppler

Bishop Museum

172 [101] In 1967 while I was carrying out ethnographic research in Tungua, Ha'apai, a number of pottery sherds (mainly Lapita) were collected from surface sites.[1] These sherds are now in Bishop Museum and are catalogued in three groups as follows:

D4529	A group of 36 sherds collected in August, 1967, in several plantation areas on Tungua. All but three are waterworn. One of these latter is conspicuously thinner and seems to show impressions from a paddle or anvil. This sherd and one other are different from Lapita pottery, and according to R. Shutler, are Melanesian in type.[2]
D4530	A group of 60 sherds collected on August 10 and 11, 1967, from the south-east beach of Tungua. Except for one, all of these sherds are waterworn. This rather thin piece is of irregular thickness which appears to be the result of pressing with the fingers.
D4531	A group of 55 very small waterworn sherds collected August 9, 1967, from Sia 'o Tungī (approximately 1½ miles north-west from the beach site where collection D4530 was made).

COMMENT

Included in this collection of 151 sherds are at least seven rim sherds and six decorated sherds; all but one of the latter are very worn. Two of the rim sherds are flat (Figure 1·1 and 1·2) and two have shoulders (Figure 1·3 and 1·4). The shoulder of Figure 1·3 is more pronounced and has an incurved rim. The decorated sherds come from the D4529 and D4530 sites and the designs are water-worn. The one design clear enough to be reproduced appears to be incised by using a stick to draw a line and pressing it into the wet clay at intervals (Figure 1·5).

[122] 1. Research in Tungua was supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I wish to thank William K. Kikuchi for his drawings and Yosihiko Sinoto, Roger Green, Peter Gathercole and Jack Golson for helpful comments on the manuscript. Sherds from these sites were sent to William R. Dickinson for analysis of the sand tempers. His data for six Lapita sherds are available from Bishop Museum. He found that for these six sherds "the volcanic sand tempers are of the sort to be expected as derivative from volcanoes of the type common along the west edge of Tonga, but are unlike any sherd tempers described to date from Fiji."

2. Personal communication. These two sherds have only recently been sent to Dickinson. The data are not yet available. [see p. 414.]

his (or her) adopted parents (although the child could certainly inherit from 597
his own biological parents). As recently as 1961 the Chief Justice of Tonga 642
stated: 428 [565]

> no person who is an adopted child and has not been born in wedlock to the person from whom he claims to inherit, is now entitled to inherit under the law of succession in any event. (Hammet *in* Hunter 1963:182).

The Chief Justice also pointed out in the same context:

> From the date the Constitution was granted in 1875 until the present time no adopted child has been entitled to inherit under the law of succession and no provision has been made whereby an adopted child may succeed in the future. (*ibid.*).

The 1953 Amendment to the Tongan Constitution changed the Constitu- [565]
tion for the high ranking Tongans, but for the bulk of the populace in the
twentieth century inheritance rules are guided not by custom but by law. For [425]
the Tongan farmer, inheritance of land (in a land-scarce archipelago) is [423]
extremely important; and as A. Maude's most recent work on land in Tonga states it, "only legitimate sons may inherit" land, and "these rules of inheritance do not necessarily follow Tongan custom exactly" (A. Maude 1971:113).

It is clear that twentieth century Tonga is not aboriginal Tonga. The 178
"Europeanization" of Tonga removed much of the inherent consensus and 177
flexibility from Tongan society, and researchers and Tongans alike must be 121
made aware of this.

NOTES

1. Funding for the research partially presented in this paper was provided, in part, by 122
an NDEA (Title IV) Fellowship and an NIH Traineeship (PHS Grant 5 T01 [101]
GM01382-05). Field work was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Assistance and information provided by individuals in Tonga, especially those connected with the *Komiti Talafakafonua 'o Tonga*, "Tongan Traditions Committee", is greatly appreciated. Space limitations obviously precludes the listing of all individuals from whom assistance was gratefully received, but see the completed dissertation (1972:v-x). An earlier version of this paper was discussed at a symposium on "Adoption and Fosterage in Oceania" at the First Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, March 29-April 1, 1972. Numerous people have commented on my Tongan work, none of whom, of course, are responsible for what I present.
2. C. Maxwell Churchward has defined *tauhi* as "to tend, look after, take care of" 597
(C.M. Churchward 1959:463). One of the earliest definitions of the term was 855
recorded by the Wesleyan missionary S. Rabone who defined *tauhi* as "a nurse; a

65: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9

Change in Rank and Status in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

There is a certain amount of timelessness inherent in some ethnographic reports: a timelessness which stems from the quest of the synchronic description *cum* analysis of culture. This timelessness is present even though I am in agreement with Locher's basic point that "there is a new interest in the relation between anthropology and history" (Locher 1967: 77). Unfortunately, this relationship has yet to be intensified. 114

Change obviously takes place over time, yet all too often statements in the published accounts have compressed many of the unique aspects of Tongan culture into a homogenized whole. The massive work of Gifford (1929) has various points in it where one is not certain what was aboriginal Tonga and what was the Tonga of Gifford's research period of 1920–1921. In order to describe aboriginal Tonga and analyze changes in Tonga, one must "begin at the beginning" and gather the most reputable information on aboriginal Tonga, i.e. early-contacted Tonga. By itself, twentieth-century "memory culture" of what aboriginal Tonga was like (from which most researchers get their idealistic ethnographic base lines) is not sufficient to say what Tonga was like in the past. Memory culture descriptions,

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[p. 559]

71: Forster T-5 (1773) 1777 OU9 Tonga OU9

[iii]

Preface

000 History does not offer an example of such disinterested efforts, towards the enlargement of human knowledge, as have been made by the British nation, since the accession of his present Majesty to the Throne. America, with all its riches, might long have remained undiscovered, if the unequalled perseverance and the glorious enthusiasm of Columbus had not providentially surmounted every difficulty, and, in spite of ignorance and envy, forced their way to Ferdinand and Isabella. That immortal navigator was protected at last, only because he opened a new and evident source of gain. But a friendship between Plutus and the Muses was too singular to be sincere; it only lasted whilst they, with no better success than the Danaids, poured heaps of gold into his treasury.

The triumph of science was reserved to later periods of time. 114 Three voyages of discovery, from the most liberal motives, had already been performed, when a fourth was undertaken by order of an enlightened monarch, upon a more enlarged and majestic plan than ever [122] was put in [iv] execution before. The greatest navigator of his time, two able astronomers, a man of science to study nature in all her recesses, and a painter to copy some of her most curious productions, were selected at the expence of the nation. After completing their voyage, they have prepared to give an account of their respective discoveries, which cannot fail of crowning, their employers at least, with immortal honour.

[xvii cont.]

000 which voyages of discovery are carried on (8), the nation which

[122] 8. The whole expence of the voyage in which I embarked did not excceed[a] the sum of 25000 l. including all extraordinary disbursements.

favours these enterprizes is amply repaid by the benefit derived to
123 our fellow-creatures. I cannot help thinking that our late voyage
136 [xviii] would reflect immortal honour on our employers, if it had no
other merit than stocking Taheitee with goats, the Friendly Isles and
New Hebrides with dogs, and New Zeeland and New Caledonia with hogs.
000 It is therefore sincerely to be wished, that voyages of discovery, upon
a disinterested plan, may still be prosecuted with vigour, as much
remains to be done, even in the South Sea; unless it should be in the
power of illiberal men to defeat the great and generous views of a
monarch, who is justly called the patron of science. A single remark,
which may be of extensive use to posterity; a single circumstance, which
may make happy our fellow-creatures in those remote parts of the world,
repays the toils of the navigation, and bestows that great reward, the
consciousness of good and noble actions.

London,
March 1, 1777.

G. Forster

[pp. 1-417 not processed]

[a] [sic! ... Analyst]

[435 cont.]

175 hands; the differences of sex or age did not exempt them from this
304 amputation; for even amongst the few children, whom we saw running about
[291] naked, the greater part had already suffered this loss. Only a few
grown people, who had preserved both their little fingers, were an ex-
175 ception to the general rule. We immediately conjectured that the death
304 of a near relation or friend might require these strange mutilations,
171 in the same manner as is customary among the Hottentots, in Africa (10);
the Guaranos, in Paraguay; and the Californians; and our enquiries,
though unsuccessful at first, afterwards confirmed the conjecture.
175 Another singularity, which we observed to be very general among these
304 people, was a round spot on each cheek-bone, which appeared to have been
burnt or blistered. Some had it quite recent, in others it was covered
with a scurf, and many had a very slight mark of its former existence.
[171] We could never learn how and for what purpose it was made; but we sup-
posed it could only be [436] used like the Japanese moxa, as a remedy
against various complaints.

175 Notwithstanding the engaging manners of the natives, we foresaw
122 that we should make but a very short stay among them, because our
439 captains could not obtain refreshments in any considerable quantity;
which might be owing not so much to their scarcity upon the island, as
to the difficulty of making our goods current for such valuable articles,
175 when they could obtain them in exchange for arms and utensils. They
439 had brought indeed a few yams, bananas, coco-nuts, and shaddocks for
[227] sale, but they soon dropt that branch of trade. Our people purchased
[237] an incredible number of fish hooks made of mother of pearl, barbed with
[171]

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10. See Kolben's account of the Cape of Good Hope; also the Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, par M. Pauw, vol. II. p.224, 229.

[440 cont.]

175 by it in the most shocking manner; there was only a hole left in the
164 place of her nose; her cheeks were swelled up and continually
oozing out a purulent matter; and her eyes seemed ready to fall out
[439] of her head, being bloody and sore. These were some of the most
miserable objects I recollect ever to have seen; and yet they seemed
to be quite unconcerned about their misfortunes, traded as briskly
as any of the rest, and what was most nauseous, had provisions to
sell.

175 After dinner Dr. Sparrman remained on board with me, in order
122 to arrange our acquisitions of the morning, and my father again
[126] accompanied the captains to the shore, with a view to collect a fresh
supply. They returned about sunset, and my father gave the following
account of this excursion.

175 "At the landing-place the natives welcomed us with shouts as in
439 the morning, and the croud being as numerous as ever, the trade was
carried on very briskly, but provisions were scarce, and shaddocks in
particular not at all to be had, as the season was not yet sufficiently
175 advanced. Mr. Hodges, myself, and one servant, left the trading-place with
123 [441]two of the natives, whom we engaged to become our guides in
case of necessity, and walked up the hill to view the interior part
175 of the country. Our walk lay through a number of rich plantations or
311 gardens, enclosed as before mentioned with fences of reeds, or with
417
137 quick-hedges of the beautiful coral flower, (erythrina corallodendron.)
175 Beyond these we entered into a lane between two enclosures, and
311 observed bananas and yams planted in rows on both sides, with as much
487
[244] order and regularity as we employ in our agriculture. This lane
[245] opened into a fine extensive plain, covered with rich grasses. Having

175 [477 cont.]

181 to satisfy the most indispensible wants of nature, could make
642 them miserable. Be this as it may, so much seems to be certain,
651 that their systems of politics and religion, from their similarity
175
171 with the Taheitian, as far as we could judge, must have had one
174 common origin, perhaps in the mother country, from whence both these colonies issued. Single dissonant customs, and opinions may have acceded to the primitive ideas, in proportion as various
175 accidents, or human caprices have given rise to them. The
174 affinity of their languages is still more decisive. The greatest
197 part of the necessaries of life, common to both groups of islands, the parts of the body, in short the most obvious and universal ideas, were expressed at the Society and Friendly Isles nearly
175 by the same words. [478] We did not find that sonorousness in the
197 Tonga-Tabboo dialect, which is prevalent in that of Taheitee,
194 because the inhabitants of the former have adopted the F,K, and S, so that their language is more replete with consonants. This harshness is compensated however by the frequent use of the liquid letters, L,M,N; and of the softer vowels E and I, to which we must add that kind of singing tone, which they generally retain even in common conversation.---But it is time to return from this digression.

175 We did not part from our friends till sun-set, promising to
123 return to them once more the next morning. Our ships were well
122
175 provided with bananas, yams, and coco-nuts; and, considering the small size of the island, as well as our short stay, sixty or eighty hogs, besides a vast number of large fowls, were a surprising
[312] acquisition. During our stay we had searched the country in vain

[478 cont.]

175 for water, and the master had been sent to the eastward to survey
● 122
312 Maria Bay, and the low isles which shelter that harbour. The situation
175 of these islands he found very exactly represented in the charts
136 of the ever accurate Tasman, and on one of them where he landed,
he saw an astonishing number of speckled water-snakes, with flat
tails, which are harmless, and distinguished in the system of
175 Linnaeus, by the name of colubri laticaudati. In our branch we
126 had not been unsuccessful, this little island having afforded us
137 several new plants, among which was a new species of jesuit's bark,
or cinchona, [479] of which the bitter bark may perhaps be equally
175 efficacious with that of Peru. We also collected several birds
231 unknown before, and purchased some live species, particularly of
[126]
[439] the parrot and pigeon tribe, of the natives, who seem to be very
[136] expert fowlers. But it did not appear to us, that the pigeons,
[554] which many carried perched on crooked sticks, were marks of
[171] distinction, though Schouten at Horne Island where the same custom
175 prevails, is of that opinion (25). In the last boat which
609 had brought our people on board in the evening, the Latoo or king
had sent a great quantity of vegetables, together with a whole hog
roasted, or dressed under ground, as a present to the captain. In
the morning therefore, we embarked early in the pinnace, and rowed
[152] to the shore to make a present in return. We found the Latoo sitting
at a little distance from the beach; and captain Cook gave him
a shirt, a saw, a hatchet, a brass kettle, and several articles
of less moment, all which he received with sullen gravity;
this deportment he never varied, except once, when he was seen to
smile as he conversed with Attagha.

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565 25. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection,
431 vol. II. p. 46.

[167 cont.]

000 and their civilization little advanced, since they are savage, and
[171] go naked. Their island seems to be about three leagues long, and
[175] was called Savage Island. It is situated in 19° 1' S. and 169° 37' W.

Having reached the ship, the boats were hoisted in, and the next morning we continued our course to the westward. A large high-finned whale, which was seen near the ship, spouted up the water, and several birds and fish attended us as usual.

122 On the twenty-fourth [June 24, 1774] at night we lay to, as
[171] we expected to be very near A Namoka, or Rotterdam Island, one of the
[175] Friendly Isles discovered by Tasman in 1643. Breakers [168] were
heard a head at two o'clock, and the land appeared at day-break.
122 We stood for it, and soon found it to consist of several low islands,
133 connected by a vast reef. Another great reef lay to the northward,
175 and we passed between them. At noon a canoe came off towards us,
609 though the nearest land was above a league distant. We discerned
175 two men in it, who stood on a long while, but at last, seeing that the
181 ship gained upon them, they put about and returned. We could not
175 help admiring the difference between this race, and the savages
whom we had so lately left, and agreed that the name Friendly was
122 very justly given to them. The wind slackened all the afternoon, and
died away to a perfect calm during night. We approached so near one of the reefs by this means that we ran great risk of being wrecked; but a breeze springing up in the morning, we were out of danger in a short time.

The next morning [June 26] we sailed between reefs and small
133 islands, which made the water smooth. The islands had a little more
137 elevation than the common coral islands; they were covered with groves
175

[169 cont.]

103
175 Island, or Anamocka.

● 122 [170] After dinner the breeze freshened, and we sailed towards
Namoka, which was the largest island of this group. The number of
439
175 canoes encreased about us, they came from all the neighbouring islands
with fruit, fish, and pigs, all which they disposed of for nails
and rags.

We had soundings all the day between these islands, at first
133
175 in forty and fifty, and afterwards, when we came nearer, in nine,
122 twelve, fourteen, and twenty fathom. About four o'clock having
hauled round the south end of Namoka, we came to, on the lee or west
side of it, where Tasman formerly lay. Our distance from the shore
133 was about a mile. The coast of the island rose fifteen or twenty feet
175 nearly perpendicular, after which it appeared almost level, having only
a single hillock near the middle. This steep shore had some resemblance
to the coast of Savage Island, which we had lately left, but the
137 richness of its woods was infinitely greater. Innumerable coco-nut
175 palms out-topped the woods, and ornamented the island on all sides.

Whilst we were coming to an anchor, one of the natives caught
648
175 the lead, and tore the line which one of our people was heaving. He
was desired to return it, but took no notice of the captain who spoke
to him. A musket with ball was fired through his canoe; upon which
he calmly removed to the other side of the ship. Our demand was
repeated, and proving ineffectual again, was enforced by a load of
small-shot, which made him smart. He instantly [171] paddled to the
head of the ship, where a rope hung overboard, to which he tied the line
439 and lead. His countrymen were not satisfied with this restitution;
685 they turned him out of his canoe, and made him swim on shore, whilst
175

[178 cont.]

609 175 father remained sitting near Mr. Patton, with that unconcern which a noble and virtuous conduct inspires. She enquired for the name of her friend; he told her that which the Taheitians had given him, Pateenee; and she immediately adopted it, changing it into Patseenee. On stepping into the boat, he gave her father and her a few presents, which he borrowed from the crew, and with these they returned to their groves highly pleased. When Mr. Patton [179] came on board, he acquainted captain Cook with the danger to which he had been exposed; but though he had only followed the example of many of his shipmates, by reposing confidence in the natives, yet the loss of his fowling-piece was considered as a proper punishment for his imprudence. The afternoon was
[126] spent in different rambles on shore. My father, with a single sailor, walked over a considerable part of the island, without the least molestation from the inhabitants, and brought on board a number of new plants.
[694] No other complaints arose against the natives this day, except some petty thefts, at which they were expert like their brethren of Tonga-Tabboo and the Society Islands.

122 The next morning [June 28] early we discovered several islands to the N.W. of us, which a haze in that quarter had hitherto screened from
193 175 our sight. The two westermost were high, one peaked, but the other more extensive. A thick smoke arose from the last, on which, during the night, we had observed a fire. The natives who came on board acquainted us that this fire was constant, so that we concluded it to
103 proceed from a volcano. They called this island Tofooa (5), and the peak close to it e-Ghao (6). To the northward of these two we discerned

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193 175 5. Tasman calls it Ama-Tofoa in his map. Ama or kama probably signfies a mountain.

[179 cont.]

103 6. Tasman calls it Kaybay in his map.

183 thirteen low islands, each of which the natives named to us.

175 [180] We hastened ashore after breakfast, to resume our enquiries.
122 We soon left the beach, where the natives were again assembled in great
197 numbers of both sexes. A most beautiful kind of lily (crinum asiaticum)
126 was the first plant which we met with and several others, not less valuable,
175 were collected soon after. We came to the watering-place, which was a
342 pond about a hundred or a hundred and fifty yards long, and fifty broad;
175 it contained stagnant water which was somewhat tainted with a brackish
taste, and might perhaps have subterraneous communications with the
648 salt lagoon, which in one place adjoined to it. Lieutenant Clerke, who
175 superintended the waters, told us that his musket had been nimbly snatched
197 away by one of the natives, who instantly ran off with it. We advanced
175 to the salt lagoon, and botanized, among the spacious man-groves which
[126] surrounded it. These trees occupy a vast space of ground, and grow more
and more intricate by age. Their seeds do not drop off, but shoot down
from the top of the tree, till they reach the ground, where they take root,
648 and spread new branches. Whilst we were here, we heard three great guns
175 fired; but the sound being broken by many intervening objects, we suspected
that they were only muskets overcharged as usual, by some young gentlemen
609 on a shooting party. We left the lake soon after, and passed through a
175 plantation, where the natives bowed to us very kindly, and invited us to
648 sit down amongst them. [181] We were desirous of making the most of our
721 time, and therefore soon left them, and returned to the fresh-water pond.
175 Having fired a musket at some wild-ducks, which were in great plenty, we
were called to by Mr. Gilbert, the master, who told us that a volley of
small arms, and three cannon had been fired to alarm and bring us back,

[185 cont.]

501 tranverse platform of planks, in the midst of which they had erected
175 a hut, where they placed their goods, their arms, and utensils, and
where they passed great part of their time. There were likewise holes,
which gave admittance into the body of each canoe. Their masts were
stout poles which could be struck at pleasure, and their sails were
very large and triangular, but not very proper to sail by the wind.
[283] All their cordage was excellent, and they had also contrived a very
good ground tackle, consisting of a strong rope with large stones at
the end, by means of which they came to an anchor.

● 122 We went on shore again after dinner, as captain Cook proposed
126 leaving this island the next day. We passed through several fields
and wild shrubberies, and collected a number of valuable plants.
[439] We also made a purchase of several arms, such as clubs, and spears,
and of some utensils, viz. small stools, large wooden dishes and bowls,
in which the people prepare their victuals, and some earthern pots
719 which seemed to have been long in use. The great abundance of their
175 arms, does not agree with their good-nature and hospitable disposition,
[181] unless they quarrel with their next neighbours, like the people of
[531] Taheitee and the Society Islands. But they seemed to have spent too
much time [186] in ornamenting their clubs, to have frequent occasion
to use them.

122 At day break the next morning [June 29] we unmoored and set sail,
standing towards the island of Tofooa, on which we had again observed
439 the volcano burning during night. A whole fleet of canoes followed us
175 several miles, trading with a variety of articles, particularly their
dresses, utensils, and ornaments. Some of them likewise brought fish
of different sorts, which we had found very well tasted.

[191 cont.]

● 122 to several low islands, all which seemed to be well inhabited and
fertile, like so many beautiful gardens. After dinner the wind became
contrary, and abated, so that we rather lost than gained ground.
439 A few canoes came up with us again, for the natives spared no labour
175 to obtain our nails and rags of cloth. Towards evening we were surrounded
by a little fleet, and the trade was very brisk, chiefly
for the utensils and arms of the islanders, which are made with
remarkable neatness.

648 The canoes returned once more to us the next morning [June 30]
175 putting off at day-break from all the little islands in sight. Their
502 appearance and their sailing afforded us much entertainment. Before
175 the wind they go extremely swift, being well contrived for that purpose,
and their broad triangular sail gives them a very picturesque form
122 at a distance. We left them in a short time, when the breeze freshened,
and [192] sailed towards the two high islands, which we had discovered
439 whilst we lay at anchor. In the afternoon three canoes came up
175 with us again; and one of them, with 50 men on board, traded with us
101 just as we were in the narrow passage between both islands. The larger,
175 to the southward, which is called Tofooa, appeared to be inhabited.
197 Some of the natives on board our ship told us it had fresh water,
175 together with coco-nut, banana, and bread-fruit trees. We saw indeed
[312] a number of palms, and a great quantity of the club-wood. The whole
island, though steep, was in some places covered with verdure or shrubbery.
133 Towards the sea, and especially towards the other island, the rocks
175 seemed burnt, and black sand covered the shore. We approached within
a cable's length of it, but found a depth of eighty fathom, which
prevented our coming to an anchor. The rocks towards the passage,

[193 cont.]

122 announced to us that the island was inhabited.
175 The next morning [July 3] we bore down upon it again, and came
177 round its east end. It appeared to be about seven miles long, and
175 had two small hills of very gentle ascent, [194] wholly covered with
177 woods, like the rest of the island. One end sloped into a flat point,
193 on which we observed fine groves of coco-palms, and fruit-trees, together
with houses in their shade. A fine sandy beach surrounded the shore,
and at the distance of half a mile, a coral reef encompassed the east
side of the island, which at the points projected near two miles from
175 the shore. On this reef we soon perceived five blackish-brown men,
177 with clubs in their hands, looking at us very attentively. We hoisted a
609 boat out, and sent the master to sound an opening between the reefs
which we saw before us. He went on through the entrance towards the
shore, where we observed upwards of thirty inhabitants sitting. Amongst
them ten or twelve were armed with spears; but as soon as our boat
came near, they hauled a canoe into the woods, which had brought their
five men to and from the reef, and all ran off when the master landed.
[193] He laid some nails, a knife, and few medals on the sandy beach, and
returned on board, to acquaint the captain that there was no bottom in
175 the entrance of the reef, and not sufficient depth within it. He had
177 observed a dozen or more large turtles swimming in the harbour; but
136 being destitute of harpoons, or other instruments, could not strike any
122 of them. Our boat was hoisted in again, and the hopes of botanizing
175 on this island were entirely frustrated. We continued standing along
177 its reef, on which we observed some large single rocks of coral, near
[126] fifteen feet above the [195] surface of the water, narrow at the base,
[193] and spreading out at the top. Whether an earthquake had raised them so

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

000 I would like to formally acknowledge and thank the following people for their assistance in completing this dissertation.

To Dr. Homer G. Barnett for his advice and encouragement throughout my graduate career and for his service as the chairman of my dissertation committee.

To Dr. Richard P. Chaney for the stimulating hours of coursework and discussion I spent with him, and for his assistance in completing this study.

To Dr. Vernon Dorjahn for his service as a committee member and for introducing me to the subject matter of economic anthropology.

128 To Dr. John R. Wish for his careful editing and helpful suggestions for recomposition.

To Dr. Leroy Johnson for his assistance in editing and composing early drafts of this study.

To my colleagues and friends, Dr. Frank A. Young and Mr. Charles Urbanowicz, for many hours of discussion and debate on Polynesian ethnography.

[122] To the National Institutes of Health for their support through my graduate education and through the research period.

(114) And, finally to my wife, Vicki, for her assistance in processing my field data, and for typing and re-typing the various drafts of this dissertation.

123 tion and fosterage, and interpersonal relationships generally.

125 Early in the research period a census of the village was conducted to obtain demographic information including data on housing, landholding status, and dominant economic pursuits for each household in the village.

124 123 Information on exchange events was collected by using formal survey techniques, but I might indicate here that survey research would have been difficult without first establishing myself as a rather consistent and benign part of the village milieu.[1] [A] Participant-observation also allowed me to observe much of the material I recorded through the surveys and thereby provided an informal check on reliability and validity of that information.[2] [B]

124 I do not pretend that the data on exchange events are perfectly accurate or representative of all exchanges. For instance, I know that informants failed to mention many exchange events which involved small, and what they considered to be insignigicant, items such as coconuts, salt, water and a number of other items; this was particularly true early in the research period. In fact, one household head was removed from the sample because he consistently gave information on only the exchange of large, prestigious items. Two others had to be deleted because of their absence during the research period.

114 122 124 114 115 During research an assistant acted as interpreter when necessary and provided valuable assistance in arranging transportation, interviews, and in establishing rapport with informants. I had two assistants during two different periods and found both to be willing and

A,B.[For footnotes, see p. 122--Analyst]

114 115 capable helpers, who were themselves constantly available as informants.

122 My own lack of competence in the Tongan language was a limiting
[124] factor but I was able to conduct inquiry into certain area in Tongan,
[125] primarily kinship and exchange, and I could administer the survey
questionnaires. Only two of the adults in the village had any degree
[124] of competence in English, and both were usually unavailable as interpreters or informants.

121 The village I chose in which to conduct the study was selected primarily because of its convenient location and relatively small size.[3] A
A
Puke is a typical of Tongatapu villages as it includes many recent immigrants from relatively isolated areas of the Kingdom, and can be generally described as one of the less developed villages. However, these characteristics of the village were only known in retrospect and it was not chosen because of them.

A,[For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst]
A

NOTES

Chapter I

000 [1] Initial fieldwork in the village of Puke was characterized by suspicion and even hostility on the part of some villagers.

[2] At times the same exchange event would be recorded from the donor and the recipient. This provided an excellent opportunity to check for reliability, and then only the first record of the exchange would be used in the sample.

[494] [122] [3] Puke was convenient because transportation was available and reliable between the village and Nuku'alofa where I resided.

Chapter II

[436] [1] The basic unit of Tongan currency is the pa'anga 'dollar' and during this study it was valued at $T1.00 = $US1.14. All monetary figures in this text are expressed in Tongan currency.

[128] [2] Titles referred to in this text are actual titles, but all personal names appearing are fictitious.

Chapter III

[124] [1] Very few informants remember names of ancestors further removed than great grandparents.

[804] [2] One rood and 24 perches equals 64 square rods or about $^3/8$ acre.

Chapter IV

[1] I did record one case of adoption by an unmarried male, but that case was not in the sample from which I am generalizing.

[2] In 56 percent of adoptions recorded the adopting parents and the biological parents resided in the same village, giving ample opportunity for an adoptee to continue seeing his biological parents.

115 thanks also go to The Hon. Fielakepa for his information so freely
122 shared. I thank the staff of the Palace Office, for the working space
they gave me and for the tea and gossip they shared with me. Special
thanks go to Mr. M. E. Tonga, Personal Secretary to His Majesty; to
Mr. F. Maketi Tongalava and Mrs. Tupou Posesi Fanua of the Komiti
Talafakafonua 'o Tonga, the Tongan Traditions Committee. Part of the
research in Tonga would have been impossible without the tremendous
assistance I received from Maketi and Tupou.

000 For other Tongan assistance and courtesies I would like to thank
Kato and Jack Riechelmann for everything they did for us; thanks also
to Lealofi Manu, Heku Taufa, Mele Taufa, Pongi Pongi, Uila, Maliana,
Tolofi, Ernie, and Lausii. I would also like to thank the following
people for their kindness and generous assistance in Tonga: David
Riechelmann, Jean and Robbie Robertson, Alan and Sisi Riechelmann,
Charles Preti, Bob and Ruby Wallbank, Didi and 'Onelua Wendt, Joe
[115] Tu'ilatai Mataele, Ray Maile Mataele, and Halaevalu Mataele. My thanks
also to the Rev. Dr. Sione 'Amanaki Havea for all of his information,
the Rev. H. G. Cummins, and Father D. W. Mullins. Thanks also to
Mrs. J. Frank McLaughlin, 'Ana Pannai, the matapule Vakalahi and the
people of Fahefa village on Tongatapu. Thanks also to Mr. Mike D. Monti
122 and Mr. G. Suttle. In Vava'u, my appreciation goes to Mrs. Patricia
Matheson (nee Patricia Ladyard) for the courtesies she extended to my
wife and me while we were guests at her home.

000 In Western Samoa, my appreciation and thanks to Mrs. Alistair L.
Hutchison, a gracious lady and a wealth of information of Samoan life;

76: Yuncker V-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Plants of Tonga[1]

By T. G. YUNCKER
PROFESSOR OF BOTANY, DEPAUW UNIVERSITY

INTRODUCTION

The Tongan archipelago is a group of 150 or more islands and islets of 101 volcanic and coral formation. Of these, only a relatively small number are [133] sufficiently large or topographically suitable for plantations adequate to support populations of any size. Most of the islands are arranged in three main, roughly circumscribed, areas situated in the southern, central, and northern parts of the archipelago known as the Tongatapu, Ha'apai, and Vava'u groups respectively. The islands of these three groups are arranged in two roughly parallel [131] lines from slightly southwest to northeast in the south Pacific Ocean between 15° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 177° west longitude. To the north, and somewhat remote from the northern Vava'u group, lie the volcanic islands of Niuafo'ou, Tafahi, and Niuatoputapu (Keppel). The islands of the eastern 101 line are the more numerous and are of coral origin. For the most part, they are 133 low, flat, and topographically uninteresting. The western line, extending from the extreme southern and at present uninhabited island of 'Ata to Niuafo'ou on the north, is of volcanic origin. It includes the island of Kao in the Ha'apai group which rises to a height of about 1,000 meters, the highest of the Tongan islands. Some of the islands—for example, Tofua, Fonualei, and Niuafo'ou—are still volcanically active. Tongatapu, the largest of the coral islands, with an area of nearly 100 square miles, is very flat and reaches an altitude of scarcely 90 meters at its highest point. On it is located Nuku'alofa, which is the largest [361] town in Tonga and the seat of government (fig. 1, *a*).

A few miles to the east of Tongatapu lies the island of 'Eua, about 35 square 133 miles in area and composed of a volcanic base overlaid for the most part with [131] limestone. It has been built up to a height of approximately 300 meters at its highest point. An elevated ridge runs along the eastern side of the island, rendering that coast rugged and very picturesque (fig. 1, *b*). The seaward face of this ridge is precipitous in places, and some parts are reached only with great difficulty. A much lower ridge, with a maximum height of about 100 meters, lies toward the western side. The ridges and slopes, especially those 137 on the eastern side, are well covered with native vegetation. Here, one finds some of the largest trees and densest forests in all Tonga. Specimens of

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[1] The opportunity to visit the Tongan Islands and collect the data upon which this study is based was made possible by a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship and a grant from the National Science Foundation. The manuscript was completed in 1955 and submitted to Bishop Museum for publication. [122]

[p. 3]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

126 The conspicuous and apparently well-established cultigens, as well as introduced weedy species, were either collected or noted and are, for the most part, included, as I believe that such information is of value in helping formulate a proper concept of the flora of any region. So far as I know, many of these introduced or migrant species are covered in no previous report on the Tongan flora.

137 In this work, 49 lower cryptogams, 71 pteridophytes, and 630 spermatophytes are recognized, making a total of 750 species and varieties.

122 The late Sir Peter Buck, then Director of Bishop Museum, originally suggested the desirability of a botanical survey of Tonga and assisted in the preliminary plans. The government of Tonga was interested in the project and, through Prince Tungi, rendered aid in every way possible. Mr. Willy Straatmans, Director of the Department of Agriculture, was most helpful in arranging for transportation between the islands, for living quarters in government rest houses, and for local transportation by land-rover on the islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u.

114 I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of W. Toluta'u Ha'angana, a member of the Tongan department of agriculture staff, who served as chief assistant for the entire period of the work. "Tolu" proved to be a most intelligent and cooperative assistant at all times, and his knowledge of Tongan plants was considerable. Most of the local names given in this report were [115] supplied by him, as well as the information about the uses made of the plants by the Tongan people. On many occasions his explanation for our presence on plantations or other private property of suspicious owners unable to understand English smoothed the way and avoided trouble. His agility in procuring drinking coconuts was likewise much appreciated.

824 Tongans do not always distinguish between closely related plants and sometimes apply the same name to more than one species. Also, occasionally the same name is given to widely different species, leading one to suspect that some names are erroneous. Such presumed errors were checked as far as possible and, if obviously wrong, eliminated. Where two or more names have [128] been supplied for a given species, the one believed to be more commonly used is listed first.

000 In the identification of the collections I am greatly indebted to a number of specialists. The fleshy fungi were identified by Dr. J. A. Stevenson; the liverworts, by Dr. Margaret Fulford; the lichens, by Dr. Carroll W. Dodge; the mosses, by Mr. E. B. Bartram, who also furnished the description of the new species; the description of the new *Podocarpus*, by Mrs. Netta Gray; the pteridophytes (excepting *Selaginella*), by Mr. C. V. Morton; *Selaginella*, by Mr. A. H. G. Alston; the grasses, by Dr. J. R. Swallen; the orchids, by Mr. Charles Schweinfurth; *Ficus*, by Mr. W. J. H. Corner; *Pipturus* and *Santalum*, by Dr. Carl Skottsberg; certain members of the Apocynaceae, by

824 If two or more varieties are recognized, descriptive names are attached to a common base name. Some examples of commonly used descriptive names are as follows:

1. (Colors)
   hina, white; *kula*, red; *uli*, black
2. (Locality)
   vao, the forest; *tahi*, the seashore; *utu*, cliffs; *uta*, inland; *ano*, swamp
3. (Anatomical features)
   matolu, thick; *hako*, long; *talatala*, prickly, thorny; *tolu*, trifoliate; *leka*, dwarf; *puku*, short; *lalahi*, large; *molemole*, smooth; *petepete*, rough
4. (Food value)
   kai, edible; *kona*, poisonous; *fifisi*, hot
5. (Country of origin)
   fisi, Fiji; *ha'amoa*, Samoa; *honolulu*, Honolulu; *initia*, India; *papalangi*, Europe

Names sometimes refer to bodily parts or function: e.g., *Te'ete'emanu* (*Ervatamia orientalis*) is translated as "the animal that lives within the gum and causes tooth decay." This species happens to be used in treating toothache. *Te'epilo'amaui* (*Geniostoma* spp.) means "fecal matter of the god Maui," referring to the bark, which is used medicinally and has a very disagreeable odor.

[192] Also, there has been much borrowing of Western language in Tonga, as apparent in the Tongan names for cultivated plants.

Tongan Name	Western Name
kofi	coffee
kuava	guava
mango	mango
manioke	manioc
pasione	passion flower
tapaka	tobacco

IV. Field Work

122 In Tonga I stayed in a small boarding house that catered to resident Europeans on extended tours in the archipelago. One of the other guests was an officer with the World Health Organization who had been [124] working in Tonga for four years. A co-worker of hers at the government hospital

[p.434-A]

122 was a Tongan woman whose mother was an active practitioner of Tongan medicine.
124 I was introduced to the older lady by my fellow boarder as a trustworthy student from the University of Hawaii, and it was a result of this introduction that this practitioner from Nuku'alofa shared many remedies with me.

122 About one week after I arrived in Tonga, Mumui Tatola returned from the Ha'apai group in the archipelago and I met him as planned. He is a doctor who was trained in Fiji at the medical school, and we had first met at the University of Hawaii where he was in residence at the East-West Center for additional training. I had met with him about six months before leaving for Tonga, and he had encouraged me to come to his country to undertake this study. He had told me that his mother was an active practitioner and that he would make arrangements for me to receive much information regarding plants and their medical applications. This loose agreement made in Honolulu turned out to be the actual case in Tonga. I prepared to move to the village of Mu'a where his mother was living but thought it wise to keep my "headquarters" at the Beach House. This turned out to be a fortunate arrangement, because when the townspeople came to know who I was and the nature of my work, this rooming house became a convenient place for would-be informants to leave messages for me.

124 I stayed in Mu'a until all of the best-known practitioners described as many remedies as they wanted to divulge. No doubt they each held back their most valued remedies, but this was to be expected since I was a newcomer to their village. In any case I expect that these people had to answer to the Tatola family if they withheld too many of their remedies because Mumui enjoyed great status on Tongatapu, and I had been introduced as a friend of his from Hawaii. I believe that in some way I was receiving the benefits of Mumui's free education in Hawaii. It appeared to me that while I was being introduced, the reluctance to cooperate almost always disappeared whenever the word Hawaii was mentioned in the laudatory introduction.

The director of the local radio station

278 757 is derived in part from synergistic effects between plants must not be overlooked.

Acknowledgments

122 I am grateful to the Hawaiian Botanical Gardens Foundation for the initial financial assistance that helped in starting the original research, and to Dr. Hobart M. Van Deusen of the Archbold Expeditions of the American Museum of Natural History for generous support. I wish also to thank Professor Ted R. Norton and Professor Terence A. Rogers for securing the major financial assistance in the form of PHS grant GM-15198. To Beatrice Krauss I owe the spiritual inspiration that led me to Tonga. .000

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ceremony show other aspects that the kava ceremony does not 000
display?

Even in the lecture situation in which we find ourselves, it seems to me there is a ceremonial component. There is some dramatization of roles, though it is not nearly so complex as in the kava ceremony. There is not much sense of continuity with the unique past history of British society, but there *does* seem to be symbolic expression of unspoken thoughts. I would gather from your presence and your attentiveness that you are here because of sympathetic interest in the subject, but it would be surprising if interest and curiosity were not accompanied by criticism, doubt, and at least some measure of hostility both towards the subject and towards the speakers. Similarly, the speakers experience a complex mixture of feelings. The conventional arrangements of lectures like these – the raised platform, the physical distance between speaker and audience, the loudspeakers, the chairman, the introductions, the applause, the questions – are partly necessary for purely practical reasons, but they also provide a setting that both expresses contradictory feelings and keeps them under control.

NOTES

1. The paper was originally given in 1967 as one of the Winter 114
Lectures on Psychoanalysis to members of the general public interested in psychoanalysis. It was first published in 1968 (Sutherland, 1968). The Foundations Fund for Research in Psychiatry 122
generously provided me with a fellowship to analyse and write up the material. I am deeply indebted to the many Tongans who helped 000
me to record and understand the ceremony and to the several colleagues with whom I have discussed the interpretations of it, especially Miss Pearl King, Miss Isabel Menzies, Mrs T. T. S. Hayley, and my husband, James Spillius.

If I had been writing for an anthropological audience or specifically to contribute to a festschrift in honour of Dr Audrey Richards, I would doubtless have written the paper somewhat differently. However, since Dr Leach's critique and his own analysis of the myths and the ceremony were initially based on this version of my paper, it seems best to publish it in its original form.

SUCCESSION DISPUTES AND THE POSITION OF THE NOBILITY IN MODERN TONGA

By George E. Marcus[1]

565 THE Tongan nobility was created in 1875 by King George Tupou I, founder
641 of the present royal dynasty, as part of major reforms designed to complete
643 and stabilize the westernization of traditional Tongan society. The political
178 centralization of Tonga, which culminated in Tupou I's proclamation of a
185, constitutional monarchy in 1875, entailed the emancipation of the population
from the control of regional, independent traditional leaders or chiefs and the
concomitant undermining of the bases of both chiefly prestige and authority.
565 Exempted from this levelling of the old chiefly establishment in the new order
641 were 20, and eventually 33, chiefly patri-descent lines, constituted as a landed
178 nobility and defined by legal possession of hereditary titles and estates.[2]

565 The nobles are heirs of a traditional chiefly heritage. This is most dramatically marked in their participation in society-wide rituals historically legitimizing
the kingship, such as royal coronations, funerals, tribute presentations, and
565 kava-drinking ceremonies. As such, they are anachronistic in modern Tongan
178 society, where a commoner elite has developed and broad-based, but limited
social mobility is possible in the context of western-derived institutions of

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101 [1] Department of Anthropology, Rice University, Houston, Texas. The research for
this paper was conducted in Tonga during three separate visits: several months in 1972,
a year during 1973-1974, and a brief stay in November, 1975. My investigations were
122 funded by a comparative research project at Harvard on law and conflict management
(NIMH grant No. RO 1-MH-19531); by an NIH training fellowship, administered through
the Department of Anthropology at Harvard; and by NSF grant No. BNS76-03918. I
thank the government of Tonga under His Majesty King Taufa'āhau Tupou IV for
permission to undertake my research.

[2] In retrospect, Tupou's appointment of a privileged nobility in the midst of reforms
565 that were designed to level traditional chiefly status and power might be considered a
641 blunder (Latukefu, 1974, pp. 211-13). However, among Tupou's original noble appointments
were the chiefs with the most numerous followings, including both Tupou's strongest
643 supporters and opponents during his rise to hegemony. It was undoubtedly both
politically expedient and necessary to give a special place and recognition to the
178 traditional leaders on whose efforts or at least acquiescence the successful implementation
of the reforms would depend. In 1875, Tupou I appointed 20 nobles at the creation of
[661] the nobility. In 1880, he appointed 10 additional titles to the nobility. He also appointed
six of the ceremonial attendants or *matāpules* to hereditary titles and estates. These
matāpule title-holders are not strictly considered nobles and do not share, for example,
noble parliamentary privileges (see footnote §6). Tupou II appointed two additional
noble titles. Queen Sālote appointed one further noble title in 1924. There are thus
39 sets of associated hereditary titles and estates, 33 noble and 6 *matāpule*. The Constitution
of Tonga provides for the King's prerogative to appoint titles of honour and honourable
distinctions, but as can be seen, limited use has been made of this prerogative by the
successors of Tupou I.

Oceania, XLVII No. 3, March, 1977

114 I am also indebted to both Mr. Edwin H. Bryan of the Information Service of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu, who assisted me in obtaining valuable archival data, and Dr. Robert F. Thorne of the Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden of Claremont College, who helped in the identification of botanical specimens.

122 Special thanks goes to the National Science Foundation for financial assistance and to the Minister of Lands, the Honorable Laufilitonga Tuita, the Prime Minister, His Royal Highness Prince Fatefehi Tu'ipelehake, and, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, who granted me personal audiences and allowed me to conduct my research in Tonga.

128 I also wish to thank Zail Coffman and Francis Evanisko of the University of California, Santa Barbara and Ramesh Chandran of the University of the South Pacific, who drew many of the maps from my manuscript copies, Elizabeth Mendly, who typed the first draft in Santa Barbara, and to Sheila Raj, who helped with the second draft and Susana Yabaki, Akata Fatiaki and Kiran Sharma, who typed the final draft.

115 128 Special thanks is also due to my mother-in-law, Male Helu, whose Tongan cooking, hospitality and timely explanations of uses of plants and cultural features gave me considerable insight into the Tongan way of life, to my good friends and colleagues, Jack Estes and Les Senger of the Geography Department, University of California, Santa Barbara and Cros Walsh of the Geography Department at the

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

social interaction among Tongans in this early period has been very useful in inter- 121
preting both traditions about early Tongan social organisation that no longer 175
exists, and present-day social organisation. A fresh look at the results of Cook's voyages has been most rewarding in this attempt to interpret Tongan material culture in the context of its eighteenth-century social system, and perhaps would be equally rewarding for other island groups visited by Cook.

NOTES

This article is a revised version of a lecture given at the University of Oxford in May 1970. 121
It was associated with a special exhibition at the Pitt Rivers Museum of the J. R. Forster [127]
collection obtained on Cook's second voyage.

Research on Tongan material culture was carried out in museums in the U.S.A. mainland, 114
Hawaii, Fiji, and Europe from 1967 to 1970 supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for
Anthropological Research. Eighteen months fieldwork in Tonga from 1964 to 1967 was 122
supported by Wenner-Gren and Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5F1-MH-25, 984-02 (101)
from the National Institute of Mental Health. To both of these agencies I wish to express my
appreciation. I wish to thank the many museums that permitted me to study their collections, 114
especially the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, whose collection is the basis of this article, and Peter (127)
Gathercole, at that time Lecturer in Ethnology, University of Oxford, for helpful comments
on the manuscript. I would also like to acknowledge permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum,
Oxford, to publish the photographs in plates 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12 taken by Peter Narracott; [128]
plate 7, supplied by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna; and plate 8, supplied by the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. My thanks are also due to Bruce Erickson of Bishop Museum for the prints in plates 1, 2, 3, and 13—plates 1 and 2 are from the volume of plates from Cook's second voyage, plate 13 is from the volume of plates from Cook's third voyage, and plate 3, is from a kodachrome transparency taken by the author.

[1] Not entirely free, of course, because Le Maire, Tasman, and Wallis had traded also. In fact, 000
the Forsters collected a nail that tradition said came from a European, and which was hafted in Tongan style and used as a gouge—now in Pitt Rivers Museum.

[2] See Whitehead 1969 for similar difficulties in trying to trace zoological specimens from Cook's voyages, and he was not trying to identify his specimens by voyage.

[3] Cleveley was a draughtsman who sailed on the *Adventure*, but left the Cook expedition to go to Iceland with Banks. It is likely that these objects were given to Banks after the second voyage and depicted by his artist, Cleveley, especially as it is thought that Banks gave the volume of prints in which it appears to the British Museum. The volume is noted: 'It is not known how or when these volumes came to the Print Room but probably with some others bequeathed by Sir Joseph Banks and placed there in 1832 and transferred to the Dept. of M.S. in 1845'. Perhaps the baskets were given to the Department of Ethnography at the same time. The date 1774 is a mystery. It cannot refer to the date of the drawing because the Cook expedition did not return to England until 1775. It may refer to the date of collection, because the expedition was in Tonga in 1774.

[4] The Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum also has other volumes of drawings which are very useful for identifying objects from Cook's voyage.

[5] For a comprehensive study of Tongan material culture see Kaeppler (in preparation).

[6] Smith is probably correct, for in a preliminary study for this engraving, now in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (NPL:M (PXD59-1)), the figures in the boat are drawn by one artist (Hodges?) while the figures on shore are not only drawn by another artist (Cipriani?), but the paper on which they are sketched is pasted over the Hodges part of the sketch.

[7] It is interesting to note that the Mitchell Library sketch referred to in note 6 is done showing all the fingers on the hands—and it was probably Hodges who instructed the engraver to remove the fingers from the final version.

[8] The outstanding Tongan collections from the third voyage are the Webber collection in [127]
Bern, Switzerland, and the collection in Vienna, Austria, purchased at the sale of the Leverian Museum in London in 1806.

[9] See also Moschner 1967; colour plate 5, for a photograph of the other side of the headdress.

[10] It is reproduced in Beaglehole 1967: plate 17, following p. 144, and in Rienits & Rienits 1968: 136.

[11] For a discussion of continuity and change in Tongan dance and social organisation, see Kaeppler 1967, and 1970.

[12] The movement is written in Labanotation in Kaeppler 1967: 515.

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

NOTE

* This is a slightly revised version of a paper presented at the Symposium on Demographic Studies of Small Populations held at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington D.C., November 20, 1976. I thank Kathy Adams, Lee Lefferts, and Fred Korn for valuable discussion while I was preparing the paper. 114

Fieldwork in Tonga was supported by an International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women, and this support is gratefully acknowledged. I also wish to thank the Government of Tonga under His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV for permission to conduct fieldwork. Particular thanks are due to the people of the village I have called "Motulahi" for tolerating my enquiries, and I have done what I can in reporting my findings to protect their privacy. For this reason I cannot name those to whom I am especially grateful. However, I do wish to acknowledge my special debt to Vai T, the person who assisted me in conducting the household survey discussed in the paper. 122 114 115

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/7 cont./

128 The various statistical surveys seem necessary since, in some areas, a clear evaluation is only possible on the basis of numerical verification.

/8/ In the second part, comparisons with cultural change in Fiji, Samoa and Buganda are particularly useful insofar as they show that the remarkable development in Tonga is not necessarily unique.

The methods used in the investigation are described in the concluding part (on pages 341-343 and 349-351).[A]

Though the source material here presented on the Tonga Archipelago is in some respects fragmentary, it nonetheless contains a wealth of data (1) which show the basic nature of ancient Tongan culture and which doubtless permit a comparison with its present state. It would be scarcely responsible not to take into account the old source material especially in such a changed culture. For it is with the historical approach, above all, that we can gather the building blocks for an understanding of human cultures and their capacity for change.

1. Especially as a result of the excellent descriptions of William Mariner, published by J. Martin. (*An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands* /cited in English/. 2 vols. London 1817.)

122 The journey, the evaluation of its results, and their publication were made possible by the German Society for Scientific Research to which I owe very special thanks. Furthermore, I must thank the Ministry of Culture of Lower Saxony for substantial support.

128 I feel very much indebted to Professor Dr. H. Trimborn, Bonn, and to Professor Dr. G. Eckert, Braunschweig, for their efforts and for the publication of this book.

To Professor Dr. H. Plischke, Gottingen, to Professor Dr. H. Nevermann, Berlin, and to Dr. G. Spannaus, Gottingen, I feel very

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[A] [This section dealing with the general problems of cultural change has not been translated for the Files--Analyst]

137 These islands are remarkable for their fertility and the variety
134 of their vegetable productions, abounding in fruits indigenous to
tropical climates, such as the cocoa nut, bread fruit, banana, pine
137 apple, orange, citron, lime, custard apple, and others. Yams, melons,
and pumpkins are also very plentiful, and of excellent quality.

161 The population of all the groups is estimated by the missiona-
ries at about 50,000; that of the Island of Tongatabu is said to
162 be about 9000, of which 5000 are Protestants, 600 Roman Catho-
795 lics, the rest remain in their old faith.

643 The government of the islands is despotic, and not hereditary,
but elective in the royal family. The eldest son of the king does
[642] not necessarily succeed his father, but another may be chosen from
the sons of a former king, or a younger son may be elected before
an elder if he be thought to have more capacity for government.

644 There are some individuals connected with the priesthood, who
554 are considered superior in rank to the kings, and to whom the kings
[643] do homage. The Tamahá is one of these, and is considered to be
descended from the gods. The present Tamahá is a very old
woman, quite blind, who remembers the visits of Captain Cook,
and, although a Christian for many years, she still retains her rank
as the first person in the Tonga Islands.

643 George, the present King of the Friendly Islands, has only been
ruler over the whole of the three groups, composing them, since the
[631] year 1845. Before this he was King of the Haabai group only,
Josiah Tubou being King of Tonga, and Feenau King of Vavau.
When Feenau died, George became King of Vavau as well as
of Haabai, and Josiah, King of Tonga, dying in 1844, George
became Tui Kanokubolu, and now reigns over the whole of the
Friendly Islands. He has professed Christianity for about twenty-one years.

122 The Meander, Captain Keppel, sailed from the Bay of Islands,
New Zealand, on the 10th of June, 1850.

At daylight in the morning of the 19th we made "Eua," an island situated on the eastern side of Tongatabu; and soon afterwards the tops of the cocoa-nut trees upon Tonga itself were seen along the horizon to the westward.

At 8·30 A.M. we fired two guns, and kept away N.W. by W., steering for an opening between Tongatabu and a small islet called in the chart Eua-Eki.

123 Upon nearing the eastern side of Tongatabu, very heavy rollers
were seen along the shore of the island, the surf upon the reefs being thrown up to a great height, the scrub being all beaten down, and the cocoa-nut trees appearing further inland than in other places. Seeing no canoes or natives, we fired a third gun, and shortened sail to topsails, sending up the colours and the signal for a pilot. Soon afterwards a canoe was observed coming off, and the ship

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

000
[648]
On board the ship we found the chief of the Feejee party we had seen on shore. He was the brother of Thakubau, the most powerful chief of the Feejee Islands, and was here on a visit to King George, to whom he had brought a number of presents. He had come off in a small canoe, bringing with him, as his interpreter, an old English sailor living at Nu-ku-alófa, and was taken round the ship below, into the stores and through the wings, all of which astonished and delighted him; but what he admired more than all was the marine sentry at the captain's door, and he had a chair placed so that he might sit and look at him; not satisfied with this, he jumped up after a short time, and taking him by the hand, walked gravely backwards and forwards with him, until seeing another, stationed on the main deck forward, he left the former that he might go and walk with him also. He was a noble specimen of a savage, and seemed to be absorbed in two ideas, extreme vanity and a love for everything connected with fighting, and appeared to consider himself vastly superior to King George, or anybody in Tonga. One side of his face was painted brilliant red, the other being left of the natural dark-brown colour, a clear line of division running down the centre of the nose. As a breast ornament he wore a large boar's tusk, suspended by a string of small blue beads; but the most extraordinary part about him was the arrangement of his hair and beard. The front part, all round the face, was dressed in a very peculiar manner, and at a little distance had the appearance of a compact mass of light-grey felt, clipped into a horseshoe shape, and standing up as stiffly as though it had been cut out of wood; the hair at the back of the head being of a different colour, light-brown and frizzled out into an immense even bush, into the middle of which was fastened a great tail of jet-black hair, done up into a number of separate strands, and hanging 3 feet down the back; his large black bushy whiskers being trimmed with the greatest nicety and carried round under the chin, a small black moustache, with pointed ends, just covering the upper lip. In the front of his hair he wore a narrow comb about 15 inches long, which stuck out like a horn. He was presented by Captain Keppel with a sword and belt, and a looking-glass, things which seemed to please him more than anything else that could have been given him. [439] Upon leaving he expressed his regrets to Captain Keppel that he had given away on shore all the shells and other things which he had brought with him from Feejee, and had nothing left to offer him, at the same time drawing out and giving him his comb, and wishing that the Meander might pay him a visit at the Feejees. He went on shore standing up in his small canoe and admiring the sword. Soon after the Meander got under way and we sailed for Tahiti.

122

own people, and finds sufficient employment in attending to his 643
duties as King without meddling in trade. He is one of the best [439]
sailors among the Tongaese, and has frequently shown remarkable [157]
coolness and presence of mind in situations of danger. When we
were at Tongatabu he was about to build a jetty over the reef at
the anchorage. He does not smoke, and his example is generally 276
followed by his people, smoking being considered as a mark of [643]
dissipation. At one time, however, it prevailed to a great extent,
nearly every man and woman, and even many children, smoking [178]
whenever they could get tobacco. The use of it is discouraged [177]
by the missionaries, but I imagine that some of the natives still
secretly indulge in it, for while I was sketching one day a young [747]
woman came up to me, and, first looking cautiously around,
inquired in a confidential whisper if I had any tobacco, at the same
time showing me a short black pipe.

Canoes.—The model exhibited will serve to show the construction 501
of these better than any description. They are steered with a large paddle on the lee quarter, and it will be seen that the lower part or foot of the sail is secured to a spar in the same manner as the sails of the "America" yacht. King George's canoe is 90 feet long, the sail being 90 feet high and 60 feet wide at the top. These large double canoes will carry as many as 200 men.

In 1847 King George, fearing that the French might interfere 643
with him, wrote a letter to the governor of New Zealand, requesting 648
that he might with his people be received as subjects of the British crown.

I would venture to remark that it must be of advantage to cultivate 000
friendly relations with the inhabitants of all such islands as
are desirous of being connected with us, more especially as it may
be very desirable to form depôts for our steamers at some of the
islands. It has been exceedingly difficult for me to draw a line 121
between the geographical and the ethnological in this paper, as they are so intimately connected; but I trust by this simple narration, illustrated by the pencil, that many, who would have no taste for a voyage of 12,000 or 15,000 miles, will in some measure realize the condition of our antipodean fellow men; and it is to be hoped that in a comparatively few years the connexion existing between our Australian colonies and the mother country may also include these beautiful and fertile islands.

Sailing Directions for entering Tongatabu.

HAVING no map of Tongatabu, or any knowledge of the place, we were in doubt 122
as to which was the proper entrance to the anchorage, and the following sailing 114
directions were afterwards kindly given me by Mr. May, master of the Meander,
as the result of his observation upon going in.

When the northern point of Eua bears S., steer direct for the small island of Eua 131
Eki, on nearing which several small islets will be observed immediately to the 133

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

String Figures From Fiji and Western Polynesia

By James Hornell

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND PURPOSE

101 The string figures described in this paper were collected in 1925
122 during an expedition to central and western Polynesia and to Fiji, carried
out under the auspices and with the financial assistance of the Percy Sladen
122 Trust, whose generosity has made possible many extensive researches. To
the Trustees and to the friends whose counsel and assistance in preparing
for the expedition were of inestimable value, I tender grateful thanks.
My obligations to Dr. A. C. Haddon and to Professor C. G. Seligman in
particular are specially heavy. Neither must I omit to express my indebtedness
to Ratu Pope e Seniloli, grandson of King Thakombau of Fiji,
the present Vunivalu and Chieftain of Mbau; also to the Reverend
John Hevea of Tongatabu; without their assistance my collection of Fijian
and Tongan string figures would have been greatly reduced in number and
in value.

101 The island groups visited included the Marquesas, the Society Islands,
121 Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji. Other lines of inquiry monopolized attention
126 during the time spent in the Marquesas and Society islands, but a few
important figures were picked up in Tahiti. Another consideration against
121 devoting time to this subject in the Marquesas and Society islands was
126 the knowledge that Willowdean C. Handy had already made a collection
114 of these games during a long stay in this locality and would shortly publish
them (10).[1] I now regret this calculated neglect, for I find that one only
of the 5 figures I obtained in Tahiti is represented in Handy's collection of
25 from the Society Islands, and even in this, the method of working is
so different as to entitle it to be considered a distinct game. This demonstrates
alike the wonderful wealth of these Oceanic islands in this form of
human ingenuity and the practical difficulty of any one individual being
able to make a complete collection of the games now or recently known to
the people of any particular island group.

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 88.

[p. 3]